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A Study in Labor Administration

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RELATION OF THE
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
TO THE
LABOR ORGANIZATIONS
DURING THE WAR 1917-1919

A STUDY IN LABOR ADMINISTRATION

BY

MARY EDNA McCAULL

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FOR THE

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COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS AND SCIENCES

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RELATION OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT TO THE
LABOR ORGANIZATIONS DURING THE WAR. 1917-1919.
A STUDY IN LABOR ADMINISTRATION.

Part I Relation of Labor to the United States Government.

For the last century civilization has been laying wise and skillful hands upon the forces of Nature to make them serve men, to promote their well-being and development. In the midst of all this came the fearful war cry. "We of America, far removed from the sound of the drums and the march of mobilization, looked at one another and murmured, 'It can't be true.' Grim realization came as we felt the shock of the revolutionary changes that paralyzed industry."¹ Through no fault of their own the working people of the United States have been made to feel the consequence of war caused by the spirit of greedy government agents.

The first shock of the war that brought stagnation to industry resulted in the closing of shops, mills and docks. Many men were thrown out of employment. European trade was stopped and as a result many of our factories were closed down. Many workers saw only hunger, misery and despair for them in the future as they had but little laid aside. Only the organized laborers were able to take care of themselves and maintain the American standards of living. The constructive efforts made to help the workers during

1 Gompers, Samuel: American Labor and the War, page 39

1870. The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of Mayor of the City of New York, since the year 1800, in the order in which they were elected.

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this emergency were made by the labor organizations. Samuel Gompers says that through the trade organizations the workers co-operated with responsible national, state and municipal authorities to meet emergencies while at the same time safe-guarding the workers from exploitation which naturally results from the ruthless, brutal spirit¹ which war engenders.

It has been truthfully said that for some time prior to the entrance of our country into the war, it was evident to all thinking unionists that the Central Powers had established an extensive organization and were carrying on a carefully prepared, very plausible and appealing propaganda to influence the working men and women of America against the idea of the United States becoming a participant in that war. The central idea of their propaganda was to leave the impression that it was a war caused by rich men, exploiters of labor, who were fighting to see which particular aggregation would have the power to exploit the working people of Europe, and that no matter which side won it would make no difference to the laborer; that the laborers would have to pay the bills and stand for the exploitation afterwards.²

The officers of the labor movement knew better than this. They realized that there was only one side on which to enter the war and that was on the side of civilization, on the side of the republic of France and the democracy of England.

1 Gompers, Samuel : American Labor and the War, page 44

2 Blue Book of the State of Illinois, 1919-1920 page 110

So just prior to our entrance into the war Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, called a labor conference at Washington March 12, 1917, and there they adopted the declaration that showed the people of the United States that labor would be loyal to the government if drawn into the war. In that meeting the following declaration was adopted:

"We, the officers of the National and International Trade Unions of America in a national conference assembled in the capital of our nation, hereby pledge ourselves in peace and in war, in stress or in storm, to stand unreservedly by the standards of liberty and the safety and preservation of the institutions and ideals of our republic. In this solemn hour of our nation's life, it is our earnest hope that our Republic may be safeguarded in its unswerving desire for peace; that our people may be spared the horrors and the burden of war; that they may have the opportunity to cultivate and develop the arts of peace, human brotherhood and a higher civilization. But, despite all our endeavors and hope, should our country be drawn into the maelstrom of European Conflict, we, with these ideals of liberty and justice herein declare, as the indispensable basis for national policies, offer our services to our country in every field of activity to defend, safeguard and preserve the Republic of the United States of America against its enemies whomsoever they may be, and we call upon our

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fellow workers and fellow citizens in the holy name of Labor, Justice, Freedom and Humanity to devotedly and patriotically give like service."¹

Before giving a complete discussion on the attitude of labor during the war, the nature of the labor problem during the war and the causes of the industrial unrest must be presented.

Chapter I Nature of the Labor Problem During the War

The labor problem during the war, as well as to-day, was a problem of the means of production and the means of distribution. The problem was one of industrial democracy. Perhaps no other war has done so much to strengthen the position of the world's common laborers and to promote the feeling of solidarity of their interests, and the indispensability of labor in the protection of national welfare and in the execution of a national program was never more fully realized. The aspects of the labor problem that affected production have been summed up as (a) the supply and distribution of skilled and unskilled workers; (b) the labor migration and labor turnover; (c) the variation in the wage scales and the necessity of wage standardization; (d) the housing and transportation facilities for the greatly concentrated masses of workers in the war industries; (e) the need of increasing and maintaining labor efficiency; (f) the displacement of men workers by women and children, especially in war industries; (g) the tendency to break down labor safeguards; (h) the problem of industrial unrest.²

¹ Gompers, Samuel: American Labor and the War Page 295

² Watkins, Gordon: Labor Problems and Labor Adm'r. Page 51

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Labor Supply and Its Distribution.

During the war two conditions arose that caused the supply of labor to decrease. Many men withdrew from the industries of our country to join the army and the navy. There was also a decrease due to the decrease in the tide of immigration which in normal times furnished a constant stream of workmen for our industries. With the inevitable increase in production, new difficulties arose, and the problem resolved itself into the following forms: (a) securing an additional supply of labor for war industries; (b) devising means and methods of keeping the labor supply once it was secured; (c) the equipping and training laborers for their respective tasks in the given industry which called for labor dilution.¹

The Statistical Abstract of the United States 1910-1917 gives the following figures on immigration:²

| Year | Total Number of Immigrants Arrived | Total Number of Immigrants Departed | Net Addition to the Popula- tion of the United States |
|--------------|---------------------------------------|--|--|
| 1910 | 1,041,570 | 202,436 | 839,134 |
| 1911 | 878,587 | 295,666 | 582,921 |
| 1912 | 838,587 | 333,262 | 504,910 |
| 1913 | 1,197,892 | 308,190 | 889,702 |
| 1914 | 1,218,480 | 303,338 | 915,142 |
| 1915 | 326,700 | 204,074 | 122,626 |
| 1917c | 298,826 | 129,765 | 169,061 |
| Total | 6,095,630 | 1,843,008 | 4,252,622 |

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1 Watkins, Gordon: Op Cit Page 51

2 U.S Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce Page 97

The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is argued that a knowledge of the history of the language is essential for a full understanding of the language itself. The second part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is argued that a knowledge of the history of the language is essential for a full understanding of the language itself. The third part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is argued that a knowledge of the history of the language is essential for a full understanding of the language itself. The fourth part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is argued that a knowledge of the history of the language is essential for a full understanding of the language itself. The fifth part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is argued that a knowledge of the history of the language is essential for a full understanding of the language itself. The sixth part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is argued that a knowledge of the history of the language is essential for a full understanding of the language itself. The seventh part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is argued that a knowledge of the history of the language is essential for a full understanding of the language itself. The eighth part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is argued that a knowledge of the history of the language is essential for a full understanding of the language itself. The ninth part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is argued that a knowledge of the history of the language is essential for a full understanding of the language itself. The tenth part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is argued that a knowledge of the history of the language is essential for a full understanding of the language itself.

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| 77 | 78 | 79 | 80 |
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| 85 | 86 | 87 | 88 |
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| 97 | 98 | 99 | 100 |

During the year 1918, 110,618 were admitted and 94,585 were departed. The net addition was 16,033.¹ For this eight year period it is seen that 66.3 percent were added in the first four years, which makes a decrease of about 50 percent for the latter period. This data shows that during the war the United States did not receive its usual annual labor supply.

Judge Gary, chairman of the United States Steel Corporation, in an address before the Commercial Club in Chicago, early in June 1917, voiced the convictions of industrial leaders. Among other things, he pointed out that (a) there existed a great need for both skilled and unskilled labor, especially the latter; (b) to the extent that workmen are lacking in number, wealth and raw materials are without value; (c) to meet this labor shortage the United States should bring a supply of workmen from the Islands, Porto Rico, Virgin Islands, and from oriental countries.²

It has been estimated that it takes from six to ten workers in the rear to keep one soldier in the trenches.³ This shows the great need for laborers in industry during the war. As the war advanced the problem became more serious and the week ending July 27, 1918, thirty four out of forty eight states faced a serious labor shortage of industrial workers.⁴

1 Annual Report of the Commissioner General Of Immigration, 1918
page 9

2 Iron Age, Vol. 101 (No.2) page 137

3 U.S. Employment Service Bulletin: Sec. Of Labor Wilson, July 31, 1918, page 6

4 Ibid page 9

The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the United States. It is argued that a knowledge of the past is essential for a full understanding of the present. The author then proceeds to discuss the various factors which have shaped the development of the United States, including the influence of the British, the Spanish, and the French. The author also discusses the role of the American people in the development of the country.

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The following figures issued from the United States Employment Service in the spring of 1918, indicate the gravity of the problem of labor shortage.

War Labor Needs¹

| | |
|----------------------------------|------------|
| War Construction | 709,184 |
| Army Personnel, Civilian Workers | 185,000 |
| Ship Building | 278,125 |
| Housing | 30,000 |
| Munitions | 878,800 |
| Mines | 165,916 |
| Railways Tracks and Shops | 35,000 |
| Farm Labor | 1, 646,931 |

To meet this general need for trained workers the United States Training and Dilution Service was established, while the United States Employment Service assumed the responsibility for the general adjustment of the problem of the labor supply and distribution.²

Government officials denied that such a serious shortage existed for the country as a whole but it was a question of the proper distribution. On the side of production, the government started with three entirely detached departments, War, Navy and the Shipping Board, all bidding against each other for men and materials. Workers were encouraged to flock into inaccessible and already congested eastern cities while suitable equipment and available labor in the middle west was left unrequested. Eastern corporations, glutted

1 U.S. Dep't of Labor, Information and Education: Service Bulletin on Employment Questions, by Charles T. Clayton, page 12

2 Watkins, Gordon: Op. Cit. page 61

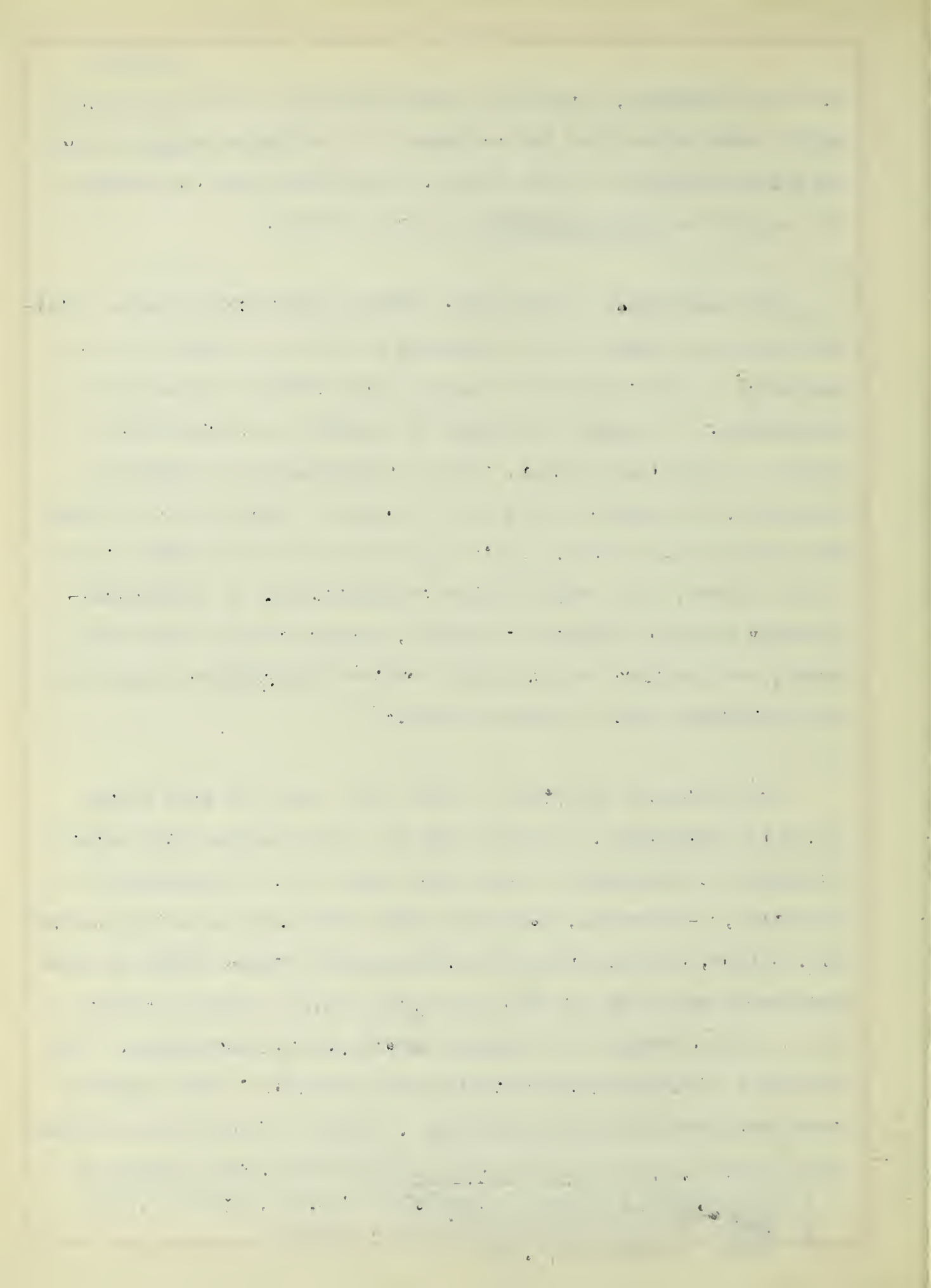
with war contracts, advertised indiscriminately for labor in the middle west before they had exhausted the available supply in the immediate vicinity of their plants. Too often, their only reason for neglect was their hostility to trade unions.¹

The conclusions of the United States Department of Labor relative to the labor supply at the beginning of 1918 were stated by the Secretary of Labor Wilson as follows: "Our problem then is one of readjustment to supply the demand for workers in those trades which are expanding rapidly, such as shipbuilding and munition factories. At present there is a shortage of labor in some trades and a surplus in others. It is our task to make the supply equal to the demand, which will involve transportation of workmen voluntarily from one section to another, housing them in their new homes, and training the unskilled men when the skilled supply in any particular line of work is short."²

The Assistant Secretary of Labor Post said the same thing about the farm labor. He said that two thirds of the farm labor shortage was imaginary and the other third could be remedied by team work, co-operation, and not so much talk about importing Chinese. E.V. Wilcox, an agriculturist of the United States Office of Farm Management says that in 1918 there were 700,000 retired farmers in the United States not occupied in any gainful occupation. The very fact of their being retired farmers indicated that they had been successful in their occupation. Many of these were of course past middle age, but the majority of them were still capable of

1 New Republic: Labor and Production Control, April 20, 1918

2 Quoted in the Chicago Tribune Jan. 10, 1918



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doing efficient service on farms. He went on to say that there were 5,000,000 boys between the ages of sixteen and twenty one in the country and although many of them were city boys they were naturally alert, quick to learn, full of energy and under proper guidance could render a good account of themselves on the farm.²

So it can be said that although for specific industries at definite periods there was an acute labor shortage, for the nation as a whole there was not.

Labor Turnover

Gordon Watkins has defined "labor turnover" as the change in the personnel of workmen resulting from the hiring and termination of employment, and has been recognized as one of the most serious problems in the American industry, even in normal times.³ Prior to the war labor turnover in the United States was said to be about three hundred percent per annum, and the number of vacancies occurring in American industry every /^{year} was estimated to be more than 100,000,000.⁴ Many establishments which in peace had a labor turnover of two hundred percent to three hundred percent per annum found that during the war, a turnover of one hundred a week was common. A study was made of twenty eight establishments in Cincinnati and it was found that one fourth of the establishments covered had had a turnover of less than one hundred percent, a little over

1 American Labor Leg Review 8: 1918 page 41

2 Ibid

3 Watkins, Gordon: Op Cit page 63

4 U.S. Employment Service Bulletin, July 31, 1918 page 12

two fifths a turnover of one hundred and under two hundred percent, and in only one establishment was the turnover greater than four hundred percent.¹ An investigation was made for the year ending June 1, 1918. The study covered thirty seven establishments in more than twenty industries of the city of Detroit. The average annual force of the two groups of establishments was 42,797 and 88,815 respectively. It was found that more than one fifth of the Detroit firms had a turnover exceeding four hundred percent. More than three fifths of them had a turnover exceeding three hundred percent. In Cleveland, more than three fourths of the establishments had a turnover of less than three hundred percent and one fourth exceeded it. The greater turnover in Detroit was due, it is believed, to the more intense competition for labor in Detroit where the extent of war manufacturing activities was much greater. In this connection it must be noted that the extent of the labor turnover, in both of the cities, assumed much greater proportions during the early months of the summer of 1918, when decided shortages of common labor began to be felt in the war industries. Many an establishment of Cleveland and Detroit showed a monthly labor turnover of from fifty to sixty percent during this period. One large firm in this city of Cleveland, engaged in the most urgent war work, lost ninety seven percent of the force in one of its main departments during the month of May 1918.²

1 U.S. Monthly Review March 1918 page 35

2 Ibid 1918 page 12-14

Gordon Watkins has enumerated the causes of this enormous increase in the labor turnover as follows: (a) the great inequality in the wage scales prevailing in different sections of the country, and especially in different industries within the same territory, and (b) the unscientific employment and management of workmen. The inequality in the wage scale was due to the unprecedented competition for laborers. Wages were especially high in ship yards and other establishments working on government contracts, such as those let by the Emergency Fleet Corporation. Other causes were the lack of proper housing and transportation facilities, and the marked tendency for colored unskilled laborers, at the approach of cold weather, to leave the northern shipyards and manufacturing establishments for the South. This housing situation was indeed serious. Thousands of men who came to the shipyards in response to patriotic appeals found themselves adrift in the city slums, at the mercy of profiteering landlords, or without any lodging whatever short of the police station floors. What would have been a carefully selected and compactly mobilized industrial army was converted into a demoralized mob of joyless and homeless men. It caused much labor unrest.² And what has been said about the shipyard industries may be said of others and as the wage earners did not have to stay in one place the army of moving men was enlarged.

Inequality in The Wage Scales.

The absence of wage standards was a chief factor of the labor

1 Watkins, Gordon: Op Cit page 65

2 New Republic 14: March 2, 1918 page 132

unrest. The greatest variation in wages prevailed in the same sections of the country, and in the same kind of occupations, as well as between various industries and different sections of the country. Employers, anxious to fill war contracts which offered an attractive and differential, entered into unrestricted competition for labor, in the process of bargaining offered special wage inducements. "Labor was not at fault for obeying the motive of self-interest in migrating from one establishment to another in response to these special wage offers, for it was a rare experience for labor to be so much sought after. They were doing just what all good business men do--seeking the market that guarantees the maximum net returns!"¹

As it has been said before much of the responsibility for the difficulty was attributed to the wage policy of the United States Shipping Board and other government agencies and their procedure was severely criticised as it is indicated by the followings:

The shipbuilding industry has been brought conspicuously into view because of the extraordinary wage policy adopted by the United States Shipping Board, which has undertaken to outbid all employers, private and public, and without any attempt at standardization of rates has instituted wage scales so high as not only to demoralize the labor market, but also to induce the idling of employees to such an extent as to reduce their efficiency from thirty to fifty percent.² In the shipyards alone upon the advice of the United States Shipping Board, wage advances were made during the first year of our participation in the war aggregating forty and fifty percent, although

1 1 Watkins, Gordon: Op Cit page 66
 2 Iron Age Vol 101 (No 7) pages 450, 451

The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study and the objectives of the research. It also provides a brief overview of the methodology used in the study. The second part of the paper presents the results of the study and discusses the implications of the findings. The third part of the paper concludes the study and provides some final thoughts on the research.

The results of the study show that there is a significant relationship between the variables studied. This finding is consistent with the previous research in this area. The implications of the findings suggest that further research is needed to explore the relationship between the variables in more detail.

The study has some limitations, which are discussed in the conclusion. Despite these limitations, the study provides valuable insights into the relationship between the variables studied. The findings of the study have important implications for the field of research and for the development of future research.

the wage scales were already high. This was in addition to the ten percent bonus paid by the Board to men working six consecutive days a week.¹ After the government took over the railroads Mr. McAdoo as Director General on May 26, 1918, authorized an advance in wages aggregating \$3,000,000, benefitting approximately 2,000,000 workmen and this advance was followed by others aggregating hundreds of millions of dollars.²

All these facts go to show that the inequality of wage standards was due to the competition for workmen on the part of the employers and also the influence of the government as an employer of labor.

Industrial Housing and Transportation.

The great increase in the demand for wage earners in the industrial centers caused cities to spring up almost over night. As it has been stated, this situation caused much unrest as the concentration of so large a laboring population within a comparatively short time was bound to result in indescribable congestion, for neither the government or private individuals were able in the limited time to provide adequate housing facilities. The report at the end of the year 1917 by the committee appointed to investigate conditions illustrated the situation by citing a New England manufacturing city in which sixteen concerns were engaged upon war contracts, and to which 10,000 additional men had flocked with practically no living quarters provided. In some plants the production of guns and other munitions was threatened to be curtailed one third of the

1 Iron Age Vol 101 (No 3) pages 204, 205

2 Watkins, Gordon: Op Cit Page 69

possible output within three months, unless necessary housing facilities were provided.¹ Naturally this did not help the condition of industrial unrest.

Labor Efficiency.

In order to produce the maximum amount of material in the least amount of time, the question of efficiency was indeed a serious one. The government had to eliminate as far as possible all conscious and purposeful decrease in efficiency or withdrawal of labor effort and had to stimulate the efficiency of all skilled and unskilled workers. Often the workmen, conscious of their indispensibility in carrying out the nation's war program, took advantage of their independence and either loafed on the job or took a day off frequently.

Gordon Watkins says that the problem of labor efficiency resolved itself into the following aspects: (1) a decrease in labor efficiency, due to (a) high wages, which enabled the men to be idle; (b) undesirable working conditions and unfit living conditions, which were not conducive to health and effort; (c) the independence of labor arising out of the abundance of employment, which encouraged conscious withdrawal of effort or soldiering; (2) the shortage of skilled workmen to perform the more technical tasks of industry, due to a lack of a definite and adequate national system of industrial or vocational education. The remedies suggested were (1) improvement of the working day and living conditions; (2) the awakening of a spirit of loyalty and a sense of responsibility in those men who purposely loafed on the job; (3) the training and dilution

of labor to perform the increasing number of skilled and semi-skilled tasks.¹

Women and Children in Industry.

The heavy demand put upon industry by the war and the calling into military service of approximately a million men before November 1917 drew attention to the possible utilization of women workers to make up the deficiency. The employment of women and children in industry involved several considerations, among which were the following: (1) The extent to which women and children could assume the more difficult and heavy tasks in production without causing injuries to themselves and endangering their future usefulness in the life of the nation. Prohibition of undesirable results in this regard was possible through the following precautions; (a) Prohibition of lifting excessive weights. In the state of New York there was a legal maximum of twenty five pounds for women's work in foundries and this maximum was also adopted by forty large industrial plants of Detroit.² (b) The protection against poisoning incident to the handling of munitions. (c) The regulation of hours of labor to prevent over-fatigue. (2) The guarantee of equal pay for equal work where women filled the positions formerly occupied by men. Such a guarantee was necessary as a prevention against the employment of women as a subterfuge to ~~the~~ obtain cheap and exploitable labor. (3) The establishment of facilities for training unskilled women in the shortest possible time to do the mechanical tasks previously performed

1 Watkins, Gordon: Op Cit page 76

2 U.S. Monthly Review : January 1918, page 59

by men. (4) The provision of conveniences and comforts in order to retain the right class of women.

The slogan "Equal pay for equal work without discrimination as to sex", was one of the basic principles governing the procedure of the War Labor Board and its subsidiary representatives, and a surprisingly extensive acceptance of this policy was evidenced by industrial enterprises independent of the influences of governmental commissions or boards.¹

Labor Safeguards

An unmistakable loss of health, output and national effectiveness had resulted in other belligent countries from the serious breakdown of protective labor regulations. Furthermore, it had been repeatedly demonstrated in the experience of American industries that accident, over-fatigue and occupational diseases tend to increase pari passe with the speeding up of workers, lengthening of working day and otherwise breaking down protective measures designed to conserve labor.² In view of these facts it was necessary to protect American labor. So in despite of scattering attempts to suspend measures for the protection of industrial workers, Congress and twenty two states and territories which had legislative session in 1918 almost unanimously insisted on upholding, enforcing and extending labor laws.³ During the first six months of the year 1918 reports showed that 300,000 employees gained the eight hour day, the total numbers affected since 1915

1 Watkins, Gordon: Op Cit page 82

2 Russell Sage Foundation: Josephine Goldmark, Fatigue and Efficiency.

3 American Year Book 1918 page 472

The first part of the book is devoted to a general introduction to the subject of the history of the United States. The author discusses the various factors which have shaped the development of the country, from the early days of settlement to the present. He also touches upon the role of the individual in the history of the nation.

THE UNITED STATES

The second part of the book is devoted to a detailed study of the history of the United States. The author begins with the early days of settlement, and traces the development of the country through the various stages of its history. He discusses the role of the individual in the history of the nation, and the various factors which have shaped the development of the country. The author also touches upon the role of the individual in the history of the nation.

being estimated at 1,448,000.¹ Of course it is true that a suspension of the Federal eight-hour laws under the authority of the Naval Appropriations Act , approved March 4, 1917 due to the national emergency for work connected with the war.² There was also a waiver of the eight-hour day law for the navy department contracts under the authority of the President's order, March 32, 1917 and issued in Secretary of Navy Daniels order of June 23, 1917.

Industrial Unrest.

A great war like the world war was an opportune time for the assertion of the claims of labor, since for reasons already suggested, supply is much less than the demand. Conspicuous among the many contributing causes of this widespread industrial unrest, as it appeared in the United States were the growing independence of labor, the rapidly rising of prices, the spread of revolutionary ideas, and the quite prevalent belief that the European war, like all others was essentially a capitalistic venture arising out of the struggle for the world markets.³

The entrance of the United States into the war was followed by general labor unrest; strikes or threatened strikes appeared as the order of the day. Disputes were prevalent in four copper districts of Arizona in which is mined twenty eight percent of the copper produced in the United States, and within three months these shut downs entailed a loss of 100,000,000 pounds of copper.⁴

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- 1 American Year Book 1918 page 467
 - 2 Public No. 391 Sixty Fourth Congress
 - 3 Watkins, Gordon: Op Cit page 91
 - 4 Official Bulletin, February 11, 1918.

The industrial unrest was not confined to any one section of the country but characterized almost every type of industry in every section of the country. The Annual Report of the American Federation of Labor for 1917 stated that there had been 897 strikes won that year; 120 other strikes compromised; and 314 strikes pending while only 86 were lost. The number involved in them were 194,802 while 215,019 were benefited.¹ In 1918 there were 570 strikes won, 108 compromised, 201 pending and 43 lost by this organization.² The Bureau of Labor Statistics stated that in the first nine months of 1918, 2,300 strikes and 71 lockouts occurred. The first nine months of 1917, there were 3,500 strikes. In the third quarter of 1918 (July - September) in 331 strikes the number of persons was reported to be 213,873, an average of 646 per strike. In 46 strikes in each of which the number involved was 1,000 or more, the strikers numbered 162,047, thus leaving 51,826 involved in the remaining 285 strikes, or an average of 182 each.³ These are only a few of the many statistics that could be given to show the magnitude of the question of industrial unrest.

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- 1 Report of the Proceedings of the Thirty-Seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor 1917 page 35
2 Ibid page 28 1918
3 United States Monthly Review : December 1918 page 361

Chapter II Causes of the Industrial Unrest

Many of the causes of the industrial unrest have been given under the subject of the "Nature of the Labor Problem", but a more detailed list will be given here. September 1917 President Wilson appointed a Mediation Commission to investigate the causes of industrial unrest in the West. This Commission made its report on February 10, 1918. It stated the causes of unrest as (1) lack of a healthy basis of relationship between employers and employees due to the employers' insistence on individual instead of collective bargaining, (2) no machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes, as capital and labor were ignorant of each others troubles and problems, and grievances went uncorrected.¹ Other causes of unrest were (1) the high cost of living and the failure of wages to keep pace with rapidly doubling of prices; (2) the inequality in the wage scales as between different occupations, different establishments and different localities; (3) the spread of the desire for a shorter working day; (4) faulty distribution of the labor supply; and the absence of adequate machinery for securing better distribution; (5) autocratic government of industry; (6) distant and absentee ownership and control of industry; (7) prevalence of profiteering; and (8) the spread of the philosophy of internationalism by the Industrial Workers of the World. Some of the minor causes of unrest were the inadequate housing and transportation facilities; lack of a healthy and desirable

¹ American Year Book 1918 page 458

social environment in industry; demand for readjustment for rates of pay, for overtime and Sunday work; the practice of inducing piece rate work; discrimination against Union Employees and the use of coercion; the demand for the recognition of the Union; the demand for a minimum wage scale; the deduction from wages to cover the cost of education, insurance and medical aid; the practice of discounting orders for money advanced to employees; the demand for specific and more frequent pay days; and the polygot character of workmen in some of our industries.

Although this is not a complete list of the causes of industrial unrest, a sufficient number has been given to show how complicated was the problem that the government had to deal with in order that the output of the industries during the war might be as large as possible. If the workmen were content, then industry was not impaired, and the government realized that in order to make the laborers contented, it must solve the psychological and social factors that were causing the unrest. The many commissions and boards that the government created to help solve this question will be discussed under Part II.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for the transparency and accountability of the organization. This section also outlines the specific procedures for recording transactions, including the use of standardized forms and the requirement for dual signatures on all entries.

2. The second part of the document addresses the issue of budgeting and financial planning. It provides a detailed overview of the budgeting process, from the initial identification of needs to the final approval of the budget. This section also includes a discussion on how to monitor and control the budget throughout the year, as well as strategies for managing any variances that may arise.

3. The third part of the document focuses on the management of human resources. It covers topics such as recruitment, selection, training, and performance evaluation. This section also discusses the importance of maintaining a positive work environment and the role of management in fostering employee morale and productivity.

4. The fourth part of the document deals with the management of physical resources, including equipment, facilities, and supplies. It provides guidelines for the procurement, maintenance, and disposal of these resources, as well as strategies for minimizing waste and maximizing efficiency.

5. The fifth and final part of the document discusses the importance of communication and reporting. It outlines the various channels of communication within the organization and the role of management in ensuring that all stakeholders are kept informed of the organization's activities and performance. This section also includes a discussion on the importance of regular reporting and the use of data to inform decision-making.

Chapter III Attitude of Labor During the War.

Although many believed, when we entered the war, that the laboring class would not be loyal to the American government, it was soon seen that on the whole all of their conventions and work were marked with patriotic fervor. In the United States the organized labor movement dealt constructively with the needs and emergencies created by the war. Through the trade benefits, they helped their fellow-workers who were out of work, while the trade organizations assisted them in finding employment. The trade union movement acted as a steadying force to all industry by steadily and determinedly opposing irrational, erratic changes. They manifested the American characteristics, resourcefulness and adaptability that enabled us all to weather the difficulties resulting from the war. The real burden of the war fell heaviest upon the unorganized because they had nothing upon which to fall back. Samuel Gompers was correct I believe, when he said that no one can question that the wage-earners of the United States were patriotic, in the truest sense and that they were willing to fight for the cause of liberty, freedom and justice.¹

As labor, more than any other class, is interested in the establishment and maintenance of a more permanent international peace, labor insisted from the beginning on the following principles, in order that permanent peace among the nations might be established:

(1) It must be a program under which the military forces of the world

1 Gompers, Samuel: American Labor and the War page 66

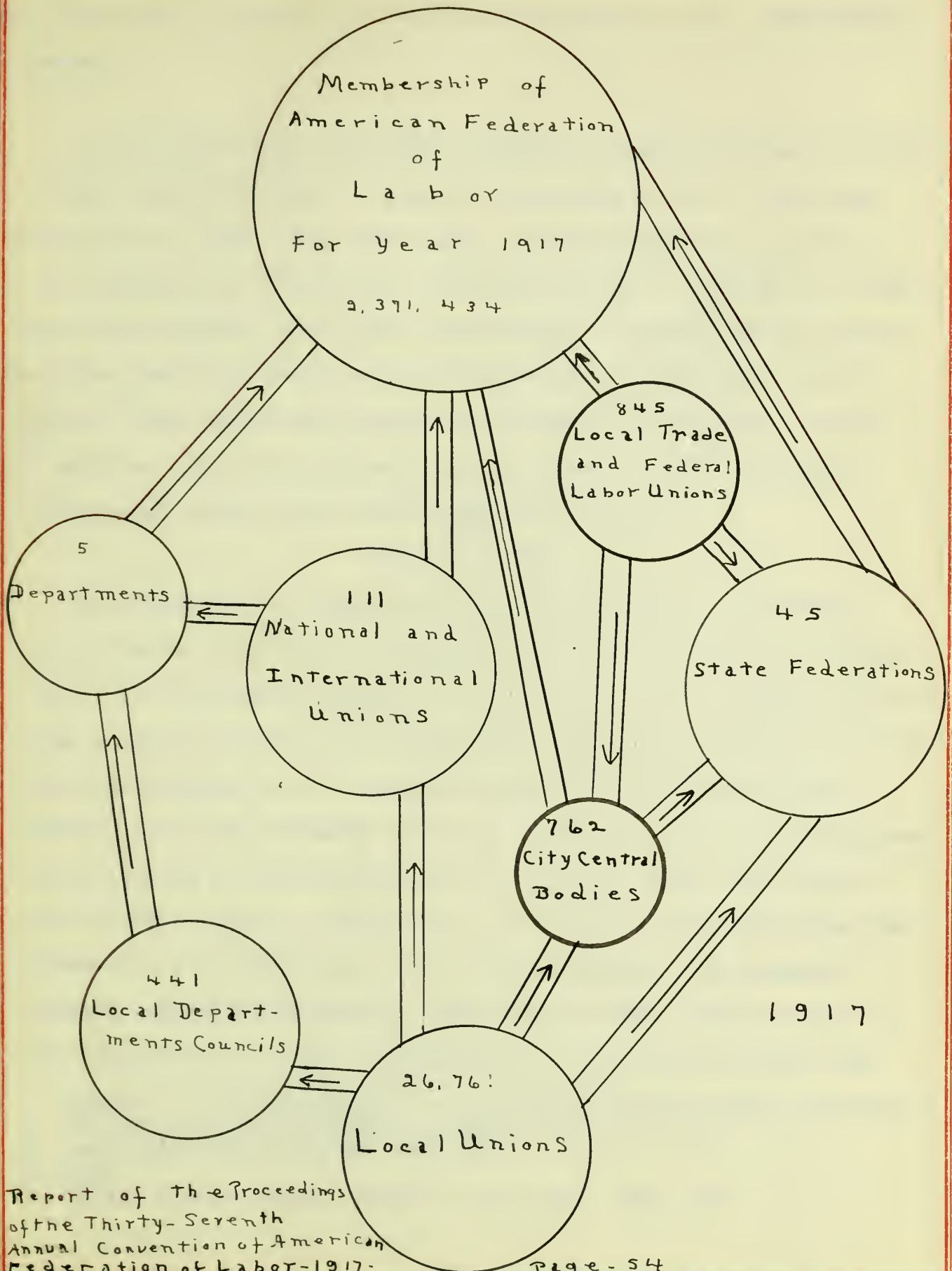
will be rescued from the dictation of arbitrary autocracy and absolute secret diplomacy and dedicated to the maintenance of a higher standard of morals, law and justice; a program that will so safeguard the use of military power that it cannot be used by the reactionary forces of privileged and imperialistic aggression, or dragged like a red herring across the path of democratic progress. (2) It must be a program elastic enough to admit of those fundamental changes that the growing of the world makes inevitable. Labor will oppose any federation of nations so organized that the more powerful nations can use the machinery to maintain the status quo against the demands for change made in the interests of democracy and larger opportunity for the masses. (3) It must be a program under which the small nations as well as the large nation, will have a free hand in every just and individual development. (4) It must be a program that will give the masses greater influence in those decisions that plunge nations into war. (5) It must be a program under which the international machinery that is created will afford a medium through which all classes of society will voice their judgment and register their demands.¹

American Federation of Labor

To understand labor's true place in the war, a survey must be made of the different labor organizations as they functioned in this country during this period. The American Federation of Labor has as its essential structural character a loose federation of national and international unions, which under stress of circumstances has developed a great variety of structural units and relationships; in fact everything found in the history of American Unionism.²

1 Gompers, Samuel: American Labor and the War page 75

22 Hoxie, R.F.: Trade Unionism in the United States page 112



The preceeding diagram will have made the nature of the organization clearer.

In the year 1917, the total membership of the American Federation of Labor was 2,371,434.¹ When the organization met at St. Paul, June 10 to 20 1918, they had a paid up membership of 2,726,478 or a net increase of 355,044 over the year before.² In 1918, the Federation was composed of 45 state federations, 111 national and international trade and labor unions divided into 27,755 local unions and 854 local unions and groups not otherwise affiliated. Of the 55 national and internationals making gains, by far the greatest increase, was found among the United Mine workers.³

The story of the three conventions held by this Federation during the war will give a clearer incite into the relation of this body to the government during this period. In some respects, chiefly owing to labor conditions as affected by the war, the Thirty-Seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at Buffalo, New York, November 12 to 24 inclusive, was the most important gathering of representatives of organized labor ever held in this country. For the first time on its history the Federation was addressed by the President of the United States. The treasurer reported receipts amounting to \$402,440.40, with a cash balance on hand September 30, 1917 of \$98,967.84.⁴ The reports showed that

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- 1 Report of the Proceedings of the Thirty-Seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor page 52 1917
 - 2 American Year Book 1918 page 457
 - 3 Ibid
 - 4 United States Monthly Review June 1918 page 139

there were 1,417 strikes in which 194,802 people were involved, the cost of the three strikes being \$2,291,086.85; As a result of the demands 215,019 persons secured improved conditions, 897 strikes were won, 120 were compromised, 86 were lost and 314 were pending at the close of the year.¹

About 160 resolutions were offered, many referring to matters of organization, of jurisdiction between unions, of grievances, and of conditions of employment. The following are a few examples of the resolutions that were passed: (1) Resolutions Numbers 41 and 53 called for increase of wages of government employees; (2) Resolution Number 50 provided for organizing Mexican workers in the United States; (3) Resolution Number 59 opposed the employment of children under sixteen years of age; (4) Resolution Number 90 called for a bill providing for a forty eight hour week for women and minors employed on products which enter into interstate commerce; (5) Resolution Number 122 called for the appointment of experienced women organizers for the purpose of bringing into the unions the women called to war work. This matter was referred to the executive council for appropriate action; (6) Resolution Number 40 favored the introduction in Congress of a bill establishing government ownership of the street railways of the District of Columbia; and (7) Resolution Number 173 protested against any proposed attempt to import Chinese coolies to work as farm hands or otherwise in America.²

The Thirty-Eight Annual Convention was held at St. Paul, Minnesota, June 10 to 20 inclusive. The treasurer's report showed

1 Thirty-Seventh Annual Convention Of A. F. of L. 1917 page 38

2 U.S. Monthly Review 6: 1918 page 140

a total balance^c on hand April 30, 1918 of \$165,320.98. During the seven months since the last convention there had been 2,977 charters issued and 1,052 surrendered.¹

Loyalty to the government and to the great cause to which it had been committed in the war was the keynote of the report of the executive council as well as the deliberations and discussions of the convention. The convention indorsed the position of the executive council in refusing to participate in any interallied labor conference in which representatives of the enemy country would be present.² The convention also reaffirmed its previous declarations upon the subject of peace terms, paramount among them are the following: (1) A league of free people of the world in a common covenant for genuine and practical co-operation to secure justice and therefore peace in relations between nations; (2) No political or economic restrictions meant to benefit some nations and to cripple and embarrass others; (3) Recognition of the right of small nations and of the principle, "No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live"; and (4) Involuntary servitude shall not exist except as a punishment for crime, where the party shall have been duly convicted.³

The convention reaffirmed the following principles and policies which the Buffalo convention declared should govern all government bodies, boards and commissions dealing with questions relating to

1 Report of the Proceedings of the Thirty-Eight Convention of American Federation of Labor 1918 page 17

2 U.S. Monthly Review July 1918 page 315

3 Ibid

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terms of employment and conditions of labor: (1) In the composition of boards and commissions which are to consider questions of terms of employment and conditions of labor, it is essential that there should be equality of representation between the employers and the wage earners. (2) In the event that a wage board or commission is to consist of an unequal number, then a civilian should serve as the odd man. One half of the remaining number of this body should be the direct representatives of the wage earners, to be nominated by organized labor. (3) The Nation's interests makes it essential that co-operation should exist in the industries. (4) There can be no true efficiency in production without good will. Good will and co-operation cannot exist where the employer exercises autocratic authority in determining the terms of employment and the conditions of labor. (4) It is advisable that production should not cease because of an apparent injustice or oversight contained in an award, for it is necessary to the Nation's protection as well as to the welfare of trade unions movement that there should be no cessation of work except as a last resort.¹

Among the declarations and actions of the convention the following are a few: (1) Urging the enactment of legislature to abolish private detective agencies, because of the menace of their nefarious practices to labor through their spy system. (2) Urging suffrage for the District of Columbia. (3) Indorsing the proposed legislation for the education of adult illiterates. (4) Opposing the proposed eight-hour law for government employees. (5) For the continuance of co-operation to secure enactment of legislation

¹ U.S. Monthly Review July 1918 page 314

granting government employees the right of hearing and appeal from the judgment of officials in cases involving demotion or dismissal. (6) That the right to organize and of affiliation with the American Federation of Labor shall be held inviolate under government ownership. (7) To request the War Labor Board of the United States and the War Trade Board of Canada to prohibit all exports of news print paper for the duration of the war to other than allied nations until the home market is fully supplied. (8) Indorsing the government's action in taking control of the railroads and advocating the taking over by the government of the Western Union Telegraph Company and the Postal Telegraph Cable Company during the war and as long thereafter as may be deemed advisable. (9) And condemning the decision of the United States Supreme Court which declared the Federal child labor law unconstitutional, and directing that effort be made to have Congress enact a law that will abolish child labor.

The American Federation of Labor held its Thirty-Ninth Annual Convention at Atlantic City, New Jersey Monday June 9, 1919 to Monday June 23d. The treasurer reported that on April 30, 1919 there was \$217,490.16 on hand after all expenses had been paid. The receipts for the year were \$780,008.55. With respect to the 884 directly chartered local trade and Federal labor unions (not affiliated with any international unions, the secretary's report showed the total receipts of \$54,308.19 for the defense fund for these organizations. The sum of \$7,654.50 was paid out in strike benefits for these bodies during the year, and the balance in the defense

The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the United States. It is argued that a knowledge of the past is essential for a full understanding of the present. The author then goes on to discuss the various factors which have shaped the development of the United States, including the influence of the British, the Spanish, and the French. He also discusses the role of the American people in the creation of the new nation. The paper concludes by stating that the study of the history of the United States is a task of great importance, and that it is one which should be undertaken by all who are interested in the future of the country.

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fund was \$179,725.89.¹

The Secretary's report further showed that during the year ending April 30th, a total of 555 charters were issued to the National and International, State Central, Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, and that charters were revoked or surrendered and unions disbanded, suspended or amalgamated in 471 instances. According to the report, the total membership of all unions, international, national, federal and local, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, increased during the year to 3,260,068 or 19.6 percent more than the number reported at the convention of 1918. There are now 11 National and International Unions; 884 Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions 816 City Central bodies, 512 Local Department Councils, 46 State Federations and 33,862 Local unions in this federation.²

They passed at this convention numerous resolutions. A summary of a few of them are as follows: (1) Urging immediate provision by Congress of funds with which to continue the United States Employment Service and legislation making that service a permanent branch of the government. (2) Condemning the so-called Rockefeller plan of industrial representation and all so called company unions and demanding the right to bargain collectively through the trade unions. (3) Commending the work of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics for the great good accomplished in establishing figures which furnish a fair basis to be used in making desired re-adjustments of wage rates. (4) Approving the effort for establishment of the Federal Budget system. (5) Approving the proposed

1 U.S. Monthly Review August 1919 page 241

2 Ibid

The first of these was the establishment of the city of Boston in 1630. The second was the establishment of the city of New York in 1624. The third was the establishment of the city of Philadelphia in 1682. The fourth was the establishment of the city of London in 1666. The fifth was the establishment of the city of Paris in 1660. The sixth was the establishment of the city of Rome in 1644. The seventh was the establishment of the city of Constantinople in 1453. The eighth was the establishment of the city of Mexico in 1519. The ninth was the establishment of the city of Lima in 1535. The tenth was the establishment of the city of Lima in 1535. The eleventh was the establishment of the city of Lima in 1535. The twelfth was the establishment of the city of Lima in 1535. The thirteenth was the establishment of the city of Lima in 1535. The fourteenth was the establishment of the city of Lima in 1535. The fifteenth was the establishment of the city of Lima in 1535. The sixteenth was the establishment of the city of Lima in 1535. The seventeenth was the establishment of the city of Lima in 1535. The eighteenth was the establishment of the city of Lima in 1535. The nineteenth was the establishment of the city of Lima in 1535. The twentieth was the establishment of the city of Lima in 1535.

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legislation prohibiting immigration to the United States for a fixed period of years. (6) Expressing insistent demand that immediately following the signing of the peace treaty all laws in any way limiting or infringing upon the right of free speech, of a free press, of freedom of assembly, which were acted as war measures shall be repealed.¹

The convention finally indorsed the League of Nations covenant and the draft convention of the International Labor Conference, the vote being 29,909 for indorsement and 420 against. An amendment, however, was adopted stipulating that the action could not be construed as denying the right of self-determination to Ireland.²

Before leaving this Federation to take up other organizations it must be said that not only did labor back the government in producing war materials but also in buying Liberty Bonds. The American Federation of Labor subscribed \$10,000 to each of the First, Second and Third Liberty Loans and \$100,000 to the Canadian Victory Loan, making a total of \$40,000 that the organization purchased, besides the millions of dollars worth that the individual members subscribed.³

National Women's Trade Union League.

The National Women's Trade Union League held its Sixth Biennial Convention in Kansas City, June 4th to 10th, 1917. The major part of the proceedings were concerned with the maintenance

1 U.S. Monthly Review, August 1919 page 545

2 Ibid

3 Report of the Proceedings of the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor 1918 page 48

[The page contains extremely faint, illegible text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side. The text is organized into several paragraphs, with some lines appearing as bulleted lists. The overall structure suggests a formal document or report.]

of proper labor standards for women doing war work and with the protection of women who took men's places during the war. It was urged that labor standards be included in the peace treaty to be signed at the close of the war.¹ During the following year 1918, this League took active steps to see that the interests of women war workers were protected, and that the trade-union women were given representation on various government labor committees. A resolution of the Executive Board in September called for the appointment of two women on the National War Labor Board. An international conference of labor women at the close of the war was also projected. The first conference of the trade union women ever called by the government met in Washington on October 4th and 5th, for consultation with the Women in Industry Service of the Department of Labor. The Conference, which delegates included most of the Unions having women members, was formed before adjournment into a permanent advisory committee to the Service. The resolutions adopted asked for a larger appropriation for the Service; a minimum wage such as would cover the cost of living of a woman with dependents; equal pay and equal opportunities; training in skilled trades for both sexes; an actual working day of eight hours or less; principle of health insurance; and prohibition of night work on war contracts, except in emergencies under careful safe guards.²

The League's Seventh Biennial convention was held June 22nd to 7th, 1919 at Philadelphia. The purpose of this convention was to organize all working women into trade unions; to make possible for

1 American Year Book 1917 page 421

2 Ibid 1918 page 458

women an equality with men in industrial and professional opportunity; to make equal pay for equal work a fact and not simply a theory; and to translate the Nation's war-work standards for women into legislative action, so as to assure for women in peace times the same protection industrially that was given them during the war.¹

The following are a few of the resolutions that were made by President Robins: (1) The appointment of a committee on international relations. (2) The calling of an international conference of working women by the National Women's Trade -Union League of America, the British Women's Trade-Union League, the National Federation of Women Workers of Great Britain, and the women trade-unionists of France, to be held in Washington, D.C. in October 1919. (3) The continuance, on a permanent basis of the Women in Industry Service of the United States Department of Labor. (4) The appointment of a Federal commission to study seasonal occupations. (5) The continuance of the Federal Employment Service of the Department of Labor.²

It can be said that this League co-operated with the government in every way possible to make women more efficient during the war.

American Alliance for Labor and Democracy

During the summer of 1917 the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy was founded by trade unionists, social reformers and Socialists who had left their party on account of its opposition to the war, to counteract the pacifist propaganda of the People's Council

1 U.S. Monthly Review July 1919 page 267

2 Ibid

The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the United States. It is argued that a knowledge of the past is essential for a full understanding of the present. The author then proceeds to discuss the various factors that have shaped the development of the United States, including the role of the government, the economy, and the culture.

The second part of the paper discusses the role of the government in the development of the United States. It is argued that the government has played a central role in the shaping of the nation, and that its actions have been crucial to the success of the country. The author then discusses the various policies that the government has implemented, and the impact of these policies on the development of the United States.

The third part of the paper discusses the role of the economy in the development of the United States. It is argued that the economy has been a major factor in the growth of the country, and that the government has played a key role in the regulation of the economy. The author then discusses the various economic policies that the government has implemented, and the impact of these policies on the development of the United States.

of America among trade unionists. At its first conference held at Minneapolis on September 5th to 7th, the Alliance gave its adherence to the war policies of the government, declared for protection of the interests of labor, and passed special resolutions in favor of Russian democracy and the independence of small nationalities.

Certain members of the labor organizations, however, opposed the pro-war stand of the officials. At a conference held in New York City on June 30th and 31st 1917, delegates from various labor organizations and workmen's circles formed a Workmen's Council for the Maintenance of Labor Rights, to act with special reference to labor matters in affiliation with the People's Council. Some of the trade-union officials who favored the war were charged with neglect of the interests of labor. Later the Workmen's Council separated from the People's Council and invited the membership of interested persons regardless of their views on the war. Its program, issued at that time, dealt mainly with the measures intended to preserve good working conditions, but also included items, the purpose of which was to reduce the danger of future wars. In the autumn the organization claimed to have formed a dozen local councils with an affiliated membership of nearly 700,000.¹ But during the year 1918, many labor groups previously indifferent or even opposed to the war passed resolutions in favor of its vigorous prosecution and assisted in the Third Liberty Loan. This Pacifist Workmen's Council for the Maintenance of Labor's Rights was not active during 1918, and was said to have practically dissolved by November.²

1 American Year Book 1917 page 412

2 American Year Book 1918 page 451

The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the United States. It is argued that a knowledge of the past is essential for a full understanding of the present. The author then goes on to discuss the various factors which have shaped the development of the United States, including the influence of the British, the Spanish, and the French. He also discusses the role of the American people in the creation of the new nation. The second part of the paper is a detailed account of the American Revolution. It begins with the outbreak of the war in 1775 and continues through the final victory at Yorktown in 1781. The author describes the military and political events of the war, as well as the role of the various states and the Continental Congress. He also discusses the impact of the war on the American people and the development of the new nation. The third part of the paper is a discussion of the early years of the United States. It begins with the signing of the Declaration of Independence in 1776 and continues through the early years of the new nation. The author discusses the various challenges which the United States faced in its early years, including the struggle for independence from Britain, the struggle for a stable government, and the struggle for a strong economy. He also discusses the role of the various states and the federal government in the early years of the United States. The fourth part of the paper is a discussion of the development of the United States in the nineteenth century. It begins with the signing of the Missouri Compromise in 1820 and continues through the end of the century. The author discusses the various factors which shaped the development of the United States in this period, including the expansion of the territory, the growth of the economy, and the development of the political system. He also discusses the role of the various states and the federal government in the development of the United States. The fifth part of the paper is a discussion of the American Civil War. It begins with the outbreak of the war in 1861 and continues through the final victory of the Union in 1865. The author describes the military and political events of the war, as well as the role of the various states and the federal government. He also discusses the impact of the war on the American people and the development of the new nation. The sixth part of the paper is a discussion of the Reconstruction period. It begins with the end of the Civil War in 1865 and continues through the end of the Reconstruction period in 1877. The author discusses the various challenges which the United States faced in this period, including the struggle for a stable government, the struggle for a strong economy, and the struggle for a strong political system. He also discusses the role of the various states and the federal government in the Reconstruction period. The seventh part of the paper is a discussion of the development of the United States in the twentieth century. It begins with the start of the First World War in 1914 and continues through the end of the century. The author discusses the various factors which shaped the development of the United States in this period, including the expansion of the territory, the growth of the economy, and the development of the political system. He also discusses the role of the various states and the federal government in the development of the United States. The eighth part of the paper is a discussion of the American Civil War. It begins with the outbreak of the war in 1861 and continues through the final victory of the Union in 1865. The author describes the military and political events of the war, as well as the role of the various states and the federal government. He also discusses the impact of the war on the American people and the development of the new nation. The ninth part of the paper is a discussion of the Reconstruction period. It begins with the end of the Civil War in 1865 and continues through the end of the Reconstruction period in 1877. The author discusses the various challenges which the United States faced in this period, including the struggle for a stable government, the struggle for a strong economy, and the struggle for a strong political system. He also discusses the role of the various states and the federal government in the Reconstruction period. The tenth part of the paper is a discussion of the development of the United States in the twentieth century. It begins with the start of the First World War in 1914 and continues through the end of the century. The author discusses the various factors which shaped the development of the United States in this period, including the expansion of the territory, the growth of the economy, and the development of the political system. He also discusses the role of the various states and the federal government in the development of the United States.

The Industrial Workers of the World.

The Industrial Workers of the World or the I.W.W. caused a great deal of terror to many during the war. The common verdict against it was that the organization was unlawful in its activity, unamerican in its sabotage, unpatriotic in its relation to the flag, the government and the war. Carleton H. Parker believes that this indictment was brought against them because of the perverted and unscientific method of the current analyses of the problem. He says that the habit of Americans to measure up social problems to the current temporary and more or less accidental scheme of traditional legal institutions, long ago gave birth to our national belief that passing a new law or forcing obedience to an old one was a specific for any unrest.¹ The I.W.W. has been condemned as a very unpatriotic organization because it did not uphold the war aims of our government. During the war the leaders of this organization argued that for them there was only one war and that was the war between the 'master class' and the 'slaves'. They could not see what difference it would make if Germany or America was their industrial master. They have no nationality---the world is to be saved for the working people.

Perhaps the psychology behind their feeling toward America can be shown by quoting a paragraph that Professor Parker gives from one of the most influential of the I.W.W. leaders:

"You ask me why the I.W.W. is not patriotic to the United States. If you were a bum without a blanket,

1 Parker, Carleton: The I.W.W. Atlantic Monthly, December 1919
page 651

if you had left your wife and kids when you went west for a job, and had never located them since; if your job never kept you long enough in a place to qualify you to vote; if you slept in a lousy sour bunk-house; and ate food just as rotten as they could give you and get by with it; if the deputy sheriffs shot your cooking cans full of holes and spilled your grub on the ground; if your wages were lowered on you when the bosses thought they had you down; if there was one law for Harry Thaw; if every person that represented law and order and the nation beat you and ordered you to jail, and the good Christian people cheered and told them to go to it, how in hell do you expect a man to be patriotic? This war is a business man's war and we don't see why we should go out and get shot in order to save the lovely state of affairs that we now enjoy."¹

The whole thing resolves itself into the fact that the American I.W.W. is a neglected and lonely hobo worker and not a scheming syndicalist. This migratory group has lost the instinct of workmanship. It is the outcome of anti-social working and living conditions. If the working men have the right kind of surroundings they will be contented and happy. The "recital of war-profits in steel, in copper, in foods, in medicine, did not fall on an ordinary

¹ Parker, Carleton: Cp Cit page 654

receptive audience. It fell on the minds of a laboring class with a long-cherished back-ground of suspicion!¹ They had a violently negative attitude toward the war because they had a convictions that were deeply felt.

The I.W.W. is a union of skilled and unskilled workers in the large part employed in agriculture and in the production of raw materials. While this union appeared in the East at Lawrence, Paterson and certain other places, at the height of the strike activity, its normal habitat is in the middle West and the far West, from British Columbia down into Old Mexico. It really is an organization of the West and draws its membership from the migratory workers called hobo labor.² This organization has no formal political existence.

During the year 1917 it showed considerable activity, particularly among the timber workers and migratory timber workers of the Northwest. Many arrests were made during the year by government officials among whom were 168 persons in all parts of the country on September 28th, and 50 persons in the Kansas Oil fields on November 20th. Charges of seditious conspiracy were made. In the September raids the headquarters of the I.W.W. of Chicago were searched and their papers confiscated.³

On August 1, 1917, Frank Little, an I.W.W. official, was taken from a lodging house in Butte, Montana, and hanged by masked men.

1 Parker, Carlton: Op Cit page 656

2 Ibid

3 American Year Book 1917 page 424

1. The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study and the objectives of the research. It also mentions the scope of the study and the limitations of the study.

2. The second part of the paper discusses the methodology used in the study. It includes the data collection methods, the sample size, and the statistical methods used for data analysis.

3. The third part of the paper discusses the results of the study. It includes the findings of the study and the conclusions drawn from the results.

4. The fourth part of the paper discusses the implications of the study and the recommendations for future research.

This lawless act increased for a time the tense feeling in the city due to the copper strike, but no further disorders occurred. No arrests were made in connection with the lynching. On November 9, 1917 the members of the I.W.W. were taken from policemen by a band of masked men at Tulsa, Oklahoma, flogged, tarred and feathered, and sent out of the city.¹

During the year 1918, a large number of the leaders were convicted on charges of interference with the government's war preparations. The principal trial was that of 101 men in Chicago whose numbers included most of the principal officers of the organization. At the trial, which lasted over four months, the government submitted a mass of documents to show that the defendants had conspired to hinder the war preparations of the United States and to obstruct recruiting. Ninety-seven men were convicted and given heavy sentences. On September 4th, a bomb explosion, on the ground floor of the building in which the trial had been held, killed four persons. The I.W.W. were suspected and several members were arrested.²

In February seven members of the I.W.W. were found guilty at Seattle of violating the Espionage Act by circulating false reports detrimental to the government. In March, the United States troops were called in at St. Marie, Idaho, to prevent a mob from setting free an I.W.W. prisoner about to be sent to another locality for trial. On March 19th, the Secretary of the I.W.W. at Yakima ,

1 American Year Book 1917 page 424

2 Ibid 1918 page 458

The first of the year was a very dry one, and the crops were much injured. The weather was very hot, and the crops were much injured. The weather was very hot, and the crops were much injured. The weather was very hot, and the crops were much injured.

The second of the year was a very wet one, and the crops were much injured. The weather was very cold, and the crops were much injured. The weather was very cold, and the crops were much injured. The weather was very cold, and the crops were much injured.

The third of the year was a very dry one, and the crops were much injured. The weather was very hot, and the crops were much injured. The weather was very hot, and the crops were much injured. The weather was very hot, and the crops were much injured.

Washington, was tarred and feathered and driven out of the town by a mob. On May 3d, the police raided the I.W.O. headquarters at Seattle and arrested 215 persons who were held for federal investigation.¹

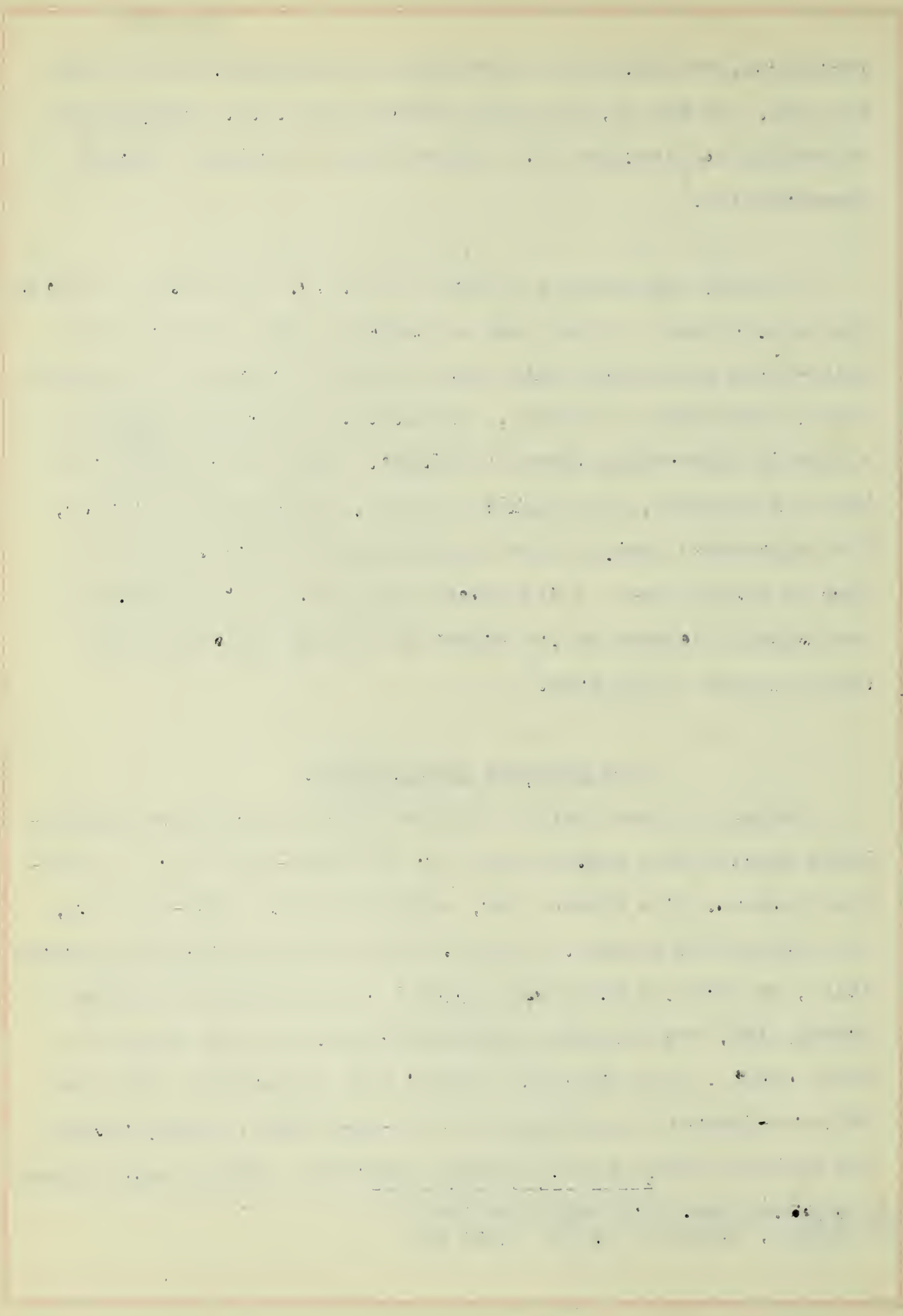
It can be truthfully said that the I.W.O. did cause the United States government a great deal of anxiety during the war, but I believe the government failed when it tried to crush the movement and not eliminate the causes. The I.W.O. is purely a symptom of a certain distressing state of affairs. Carlton Parker ^{says} that it is like the Grangers, the Knights of Labor, the Farmers' Alliance, the Progressive party, is but a phenomena of revolt. The cure lies in taking care of its psychi antecedents; the stability of our Republic depends on the degree of courage and wisdom with which we move to the task.²

The Railroad Brotherhoods.

During the last part of the year 1916, the Railroad Brotherhoods carried on a controversy over the eight-hour day for railroad workers. The Adamson law, established the eight-hour day, and settled the dispute. But the trouble broke out again in March 1917, as this law which was supposed to have gone into effect January 1st, was declared unconstitutional in a test case in a lower court. The railroads entered into an agreement with the Attorney-General to continue on a ten-hour basis, giving the men the back pay due them from January 1st, if the Supreme Court upheld

1 American Year Book 1917 page 424

22 Parker, Carlton: Op Cit page 658



the law. The case was argued before the Court on January 8th. As several decisive days passed without a verdict, the men became increasingly insistent in their demand that the eight-hour day should go into effect at once without waiting for the Court. On March 15th the officials of the Brotherhoods called a nation-wide strike to begin on March 17th. The Secretaries of Labor and Commerce and two members of the Advisory Committee of the Council of National Defense immediately conferred with the railroad officials and labor leaders in an effort to avert such action. The labor officials agreed to postpone the strike until March 19th, which was a Supreme Court decision day. In the early morning of the 19th, the announcement of the sinking of three American ships by German submarines increased the tenseness of the international situation, and, following an appeal to their patriotism, the railroad managers yielded to the demands of the men. On the same day the United States Supreme Court upheld the Adamson Law.¹

Labor unrest, however, did not subside with the enactment of this Adamson law, but gathered momentum with the demands for higher rates of wages to cover the cost of living. To settle all of these controversies arising over wages, hours and other conditions of labor on the railroads, the United States Railroad Administration formulated a definite policy and provided machinery of adjustment. Boards of adjustments were organized by agreement between representatives of the Railroad Administration and the Big Four Brotherhood (engineers, conductors, trainmen and firemen, and enginemen).

¹ American Year Book 1917 page 422-423

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a letter or a page from a manuscript. The text is written in dark ink on aged, slightly yellowed paper. The handwriting is fluid and characteristic of the 18th or 19th century. The page is framed by a thin red border. The text is organized into several paragraphs, with some lines indented. There are some small dark spots and stains on the paper, particularly near the top and bottom edges. The overall appearance is that of an old, well-preserved document.

The Railroad Board of Adjustment Number 1, established March 22, 1918, consisted of eight members, four selected by the regional directors of the lines and compensated by the railroads, and one each by the chief executive officer of each of the Railroad Brotherhoods and compensated by them. The Railroad Board of Adjustment Number 2, established May 31, 1918, consisted of twelve members - six selected by the regional directors and paid by the roads, and one each by the chief executive of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the Amalgamated Sheet Worker's International Alliance, Brotherhood of Railway car-men of America, the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers, the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, the Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers of America, and the International Association of Machinists.¹

But previous to the establishment of the above mentioned Boards of Adjustment, the Director General had, on January 18, 1918, in his General Order Number 5, provided for the organization of a Railroad Wage Commission. When the Director General William G. McAdoo assumed control of the railway operation in the United States on December 28, 1917, he was confronted with serious labor troubles expressed in terms of demand for higher wages and general improvement of the working conditions. This Commission was to make a general investigation of the compensation of persons in the railroad service, the relation of railroad wage to wages in other industries, the conditions respecting wages in the different parts of the country, the special emergency respecting wages which existed at this time owing to the

¹ Bulletin Number 4: U.S. Railroad Administration, 1918 pages 46-49

war relation between different classes of railroad labor.¹

Many of the major suggestions made^{by} the Commission were embodied in and made effective by a General Order Number 27 of the Director General, issued March 25, 1918. This order provided for an annual increase in wages aggregating about \$300,000,000, the adoption of the basic eight-hour day, special rates of pay for overtime, equal pay for equal work when women performed tasks similar to the ones performed by men, protection of the health and lives of employees, equal pay for colored employees doing the same service as white workers, and the establishment of a board of railroad wages and working conditions.² Although the Board was only an advisory Board, it did help in solving much of the labor unrest.

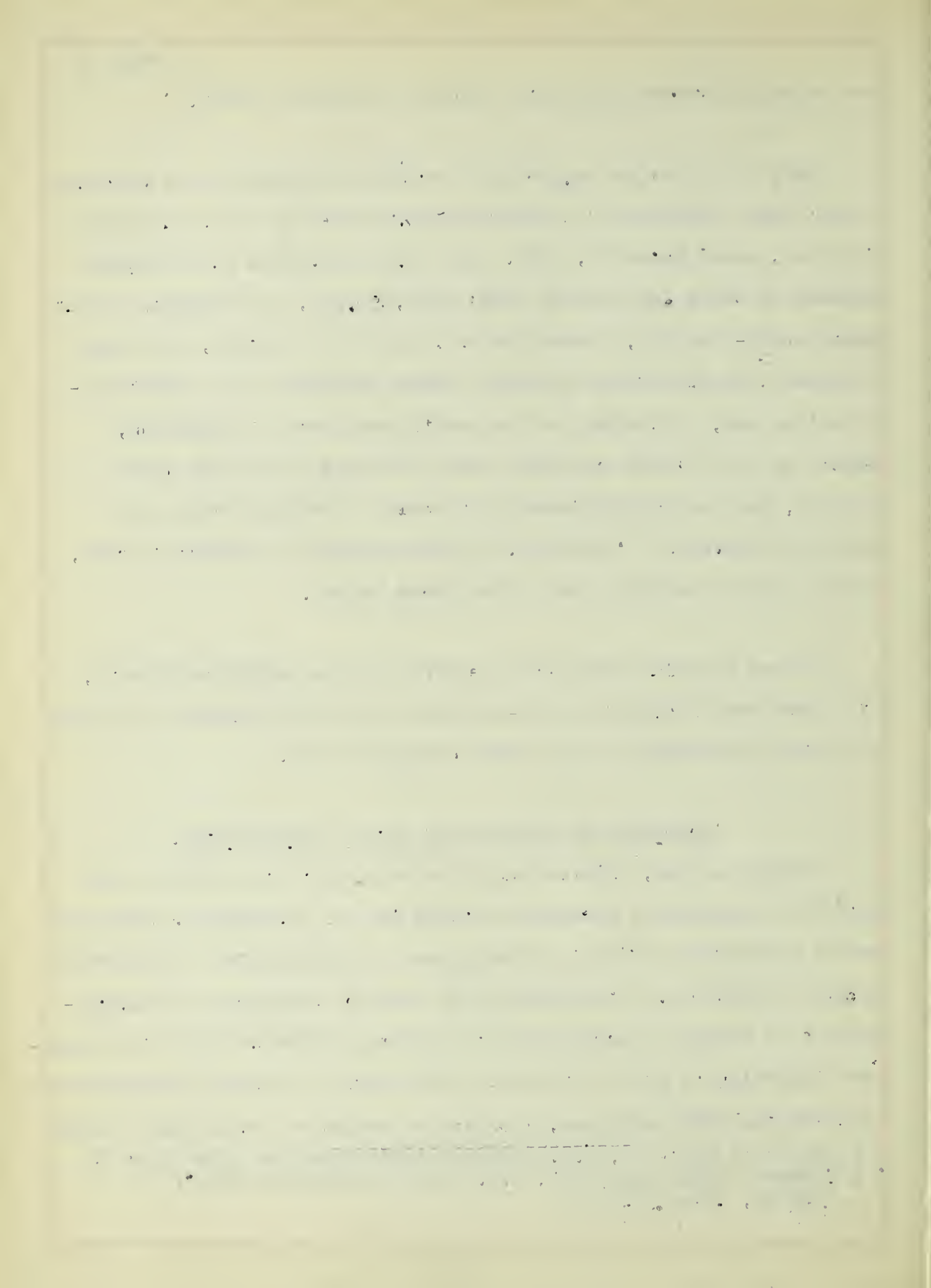
It can be said that after the birth of the Adjustment Boards, the Railroad Brotherhoods co-operated with the government in trying to promote efficiency on the roads during the war.

Formation of Independent Labor Organizations.

During the war, interesting illustrations of the spread of the collective bargaining idea were provided by the formation by employers and by government officials of employees' organizations to deal with working conditions. The Standard Oil Company announced the inauguration of a system of Conferences on Working conditions with its employees beginning on April 1st 1918. The members to elect representatives one for each 150 employees, who were to confer at least once a month

1 Bulletin Number 4, U.S. Railroad Administration, 1918 page 25

2 General Order Number 27, U.S. Railroad Administration, May 25, 1918;



with the company officials. Grievances of individual employees could be presented through these representatives, and committees on health, safety, sanitation and housing were to be formed. There were similar organizations by the ~~Lidvake~~ and Bethlehem Steel Companies.¹ In the Pacific Northwest, the army officer in charge of the production of spruce for airplanes, turned the men, many of whom were members of the I.W.O., into the "Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen." They stood for the eight-hour day, time and a half for overtime, a six day week and clean camps.²

Illinois Labor Attitude.

J.H. Walker says that after the entrance of the United States into the war, the Illinois State Federation of Labor convention was the first large substantial representative meeting of the different trade-unions and the working people from the different industries in any large portion of the country.³ This meeting was composed of 796 delegates, which represented over 200,000 organized working men and women in Illinois, directly; and through the central bodies and legislative affiliations with the railroad organizations, indirectly something like 700,000 more. In this meeting the issues were set clearly and fully, discussed freely and without reservation.

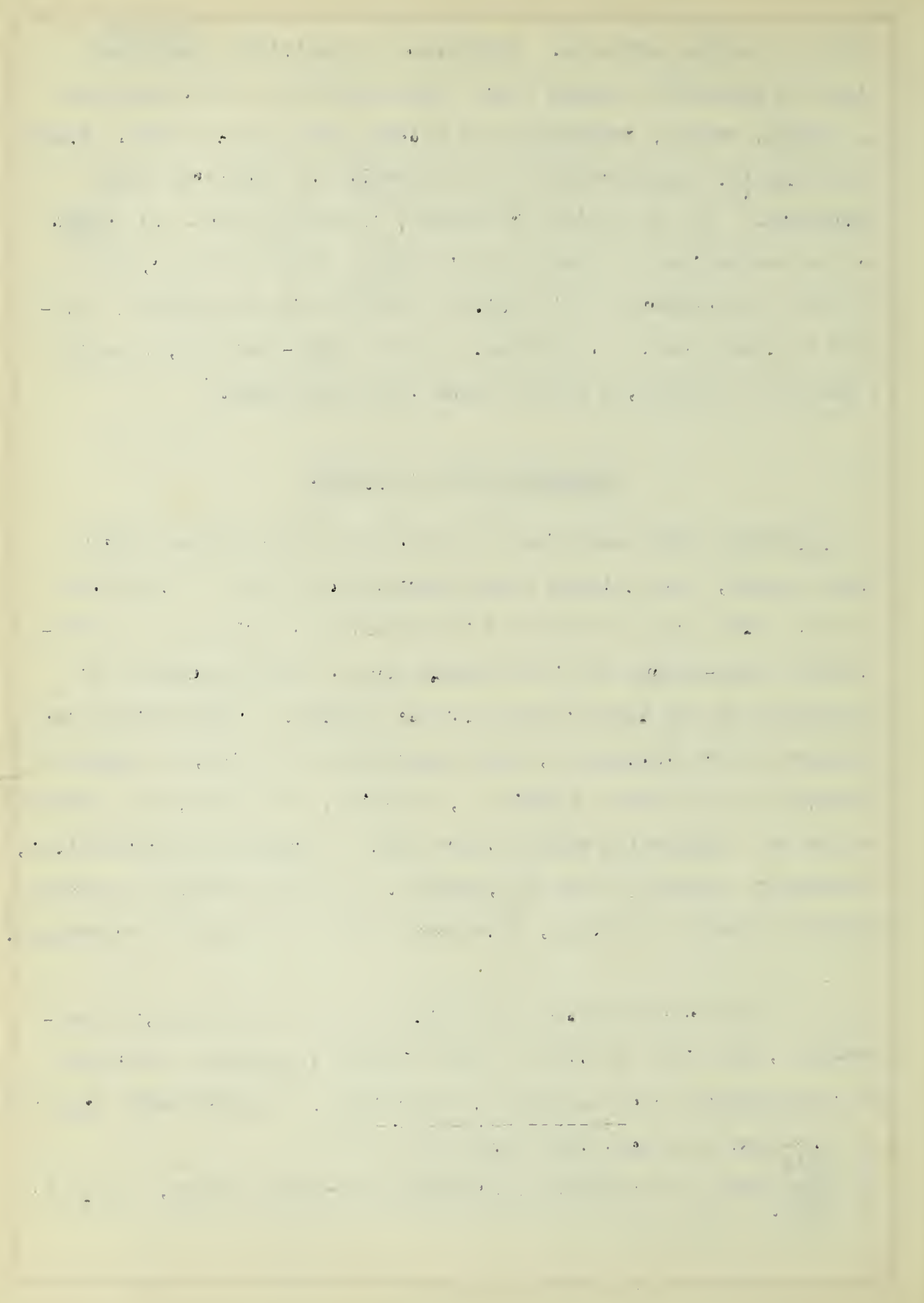
On the recommendation of the president of that body, the convention, by a vote of 790 for and 6 against, endorsed the action of its president and secretary in accepting the appointments from the

1 American Year Book 1918 page 460

2 Ibid

3 Blue Book of the State of Illinois 1919-1920; Walker, page 111

4 Ibid.



Governor of the State of Illinois, Honorable Frank C. Lowden, as members of the ^t State Council for National Defense, of their participation in the convention at Minneapolis, which formed the American alliance of labor and democracy, the purpose of which was clearly set forth in its platform to support our nation and its allies in this war. It then specifically endorsed the action of our government in entering the war on the side of the Allies, and pledged its every support during the war, in industry and finance, and in every other way in which it could be helpful, pledging their lives, if necessary, to the last man and woman to win the war.¹ This has already been discussed under the topic of the American Federation of Labor.

The patriotism of the Illinois miners was shown when they agreed to a fine being applied to them under their contract for the shutting down of the mines in violation of the contract where mines had been closed, before they were given a trial. The President of the Illinois Miners' Union, Mr. Frank Harrington, devoted the largest part of his time, and used the influence that his official position gave him to induce the mine workers to produce every pound of coal that it was possible for them to produce during the war and to avoid doing anything that would cause the shut down of a single mine for a moment. The result was that there was fewer strikes and shut downs in Illinois during the period of the war than at any other time in the history of the State.²

1 Blue Book of the State of Illinois 1919-1920, page 111

2 Ibid page 112

The mine workers' union numbered about 95,000 members when we entered the war. About 18,000 of these fought in the Army of our country and still the remaining number produced more coal than was dug by all for the same length of time before the war. Every mining community went over the top in every Liberty Loan bond issue. The Illinois Miners' District organizations alone bought a million dollars worth of bonds; the local unions and individual members bought many, many millions more; and what was true of all of the communities in which the mining industry was located, was also true of organized workers in every other industry which was operating and which was not shut down as a result of the war.¹

About 15 percent of the membership of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen entered the service and most of these were enlistments. In order that traffic might not be impaired, the remaining number were willing to work longer hours under trying conditions. Over 11,000 of the members of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers responded to the call to arms. The members of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers responded to the call to arms. The members of their Union bought at least \$6,000,000 worth of Liberty Bonds.²

"The officers of the trade-union movement served on the draft boards in the different districts of the State without charge for salary or expense. The President of the Illinois Federation of Labor served on President Wilson's Federal Mediation Commission, which was created for the purpose of settling industrial disputes;

¹ Blue Book of the State of Illinois 1919-1920 page 113

² Ibid page 112

the secretary of the Federation, W.A. Clunder, served on the War Labor Board.¹

There was never a time when the laborers refused to raise funds for every purpose that the government needed. They collected funds to send tobacco to the boys; they also raised money to be used for medicines and surgical dressings and for furnishing food and clothing for the men at the front. Whenever, in the State, the men were organized, they arranged a system of collecting the money for these funds from the membership. In this way they were able to collect larger funds than the unorganized men could furnish.

So it can be said that labor, as a whole, whether in Illinois or in the nation as a whole, did much to help the government carry on its war program. The laboring class was loyal to the government in its hour of need. Whenever it appeared selfish, the cause, generally, could be traced either to enemy propaganda or to bad industrial conditions.

1 Blue Book of the State of Illinois 1919-1920, page 112

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PART II

RELATION OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT TO LABOR.

When the United States government entered the war, it did not have at its command adequate executive, administrative and judicial machinery for dealing with any labor problem that the war might produce. It was only when the labor situation threatened a complete breakdown of the national war program, that the government replaced the differentiated administration with a centralized administration.

Chapter I Decentralized Labor Administration.

One needs only to examine the program of the several government bodies to realize the extent of decentralization that existed in the United States during the first years of the war.

The Labor Program of the Council of National Defense

Even before the United States became involved in the war, the Council of National Defense, which was composed of the Secretaries of War, Navy, Interior, Commerce, and Agriculture and an Advisory Commission of seven members, had provided for a committee on Labor. Samuel Gompers was appointed chairman of this committee. On April 2, 1917 this committee called a meeting of the representatives of the American labor and the other interests to be held in Washington, for the purpose of organization. More than 150 persons attended. A unity of purpose was developed among the different groups represented and a permanent committee was selected with Samuel Gompers as chairman.

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The first part of the history of the United States of America is the period from the discovery of the continent by Christopher Columbus in 1492 to the establishment of the first permanent settlements. This period is characterized by the exploration of the continent by Spanish, French, and English explorers, and the establishment of the first permanent settlements by the English in 1607. The second part of the history is the period from the establishment of the first permanent settlements to the American Revolution in 1776. This period is characterized by the growth of the colonies, the struggle for independence, and the establishment of the United States as a new nation.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The American Revolution was a period of conflict between the thirteen original colonies and Great Britain, which resulted in the colonies gaining independence. The revolution began in 1775 with the battles of Lexington and Concord, and ended in 1783 with the signing of the Treaty of Paris. The revolution was a result of the colonies' desire for self-government and their opposition to British rule.

The American Revolution was a period of conflict between the thirteen original colonies and Great Britain, which resulted in the colonies gaining independence. The revolution began in 1775 with the battles of Lexington and Concord, and ended in 1783 with the signing of the Treaty of Paris. The revolution was a result of the colonies' desire for self-government and their opposition to British rule. The revolution was a period of great struggle and sacrifice, and it resulted in the establishment of the United States as a new nation. The revolution was a period of great change and growth, and it resulted in the establishment of the United States as a new nation. The revolution was a period of great struggle and sacrifice, and it resulted in the establishment of the United States as a new nation. The revolution was a period of great change and growth, and it resulted in the establishment of the United States as a new nation.

A resolution, adopted at a meeting of the executive committee of this Committee on Labor and approved by the Advisory Commission and the Council April 6, 1917, embodied a declaration of the attitude of American workmen with regard to the war. In order to guarantee the defense and safety of the nation, the following principles of conduct were accepted: (1) Neither the employers nor the employees should endeavor to take advantage of the country's necessities to change existing standards, unless made imperative by economic or other emergencies and then only after the investigation and approval of the Council of National Defense. (2) The State legislatures and administrative officers charged with the enforcement of labor and health laws should make no departure from existing standards of the health and welfare of the workers without a declaration of the Council that such departure was necessary and conducive to the national defense; the State legislatures should delegate to the governor of their respective states the power to suspend or modify restrictions of the labor laws when such modification or suspension was requested by the council, this power to continue for a definite period but no longer than the duration of the war.¹

In order to deal with the questions arising between labor and capital the Council provided numerous national and divisional committees. In order to provide a still more comprehensive system of labor administration, divisional and sectional committees were appointed.

¹ Watkins, Gordon: Op Cit page 152

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Labor Adjustment Boards

Early in August 1917, the Council of National Defense took a step toward a practical solution of the problem of industrial unrest by creating a Labor Adjustment Commission composed of 9 members, 3 representing the government, 3 the employers and 3 the employees. This Commission was given jurisdiction over all disputes regarding wages or conditions of employment in establishments having government contracts in accordance with the eight-hour law of June 19, 1912 or March 3, 1915. The Commission was given power to appoint labor adjustment committees to hear and determine such disputes as the Commission saw fit to assign to them involving less than 1,000 workers. Cases involving more than 1,000 workers were handled by the commission itself. At all hearings both the employers and workers were represented.¹

The weakness of the program lay in the fact that the multiplicity of committees were primarily investigating agencies possessing few of any of the specific executive and administrative powers that are essential to the successful labor administration.²

Activities of the War Department Emergency Construction Adjustment Commission

The necessity of constructing in the quickest possible time sixteen cantonments and camps to house and train the millions of men in the army produced a serious labor problem. It was to be expected that contractors would proceed with work regardless of labor union

1 U.S. Monthly Review, September 1917 page 71

2 Watkins, Gordon: Op Cit page 156

standards. Contractors failed to realize that trade-unions might interfere in demanding adherence to union standards. As the result of this many disputes arose. To reduce this trouble to the minimum Secretary of War Baker and Samuel Gompers signed a memorandum of agreement which provided that the basic standards of employment in cantonment construction should be the Union scale of wages, hours and conditions in force on June 1, 1917, in the locality where such cantonment is situated. It was further provided that there should be an Adjustment Commission for the adjustment and control of wages, hours and conditions of labor in the construction of cantonments. This body, which soon changed its name to Emergency Construction Commission, consisted of 3 persons appointed by the Secretary of War, one to represent the Army, one the public and one labor. Samuel Gompers was to appoint the member.¹ This commission proved very effective in settling labor disputes.

Harness and Saddlery Adjustment Commission

To help settle labor disputes, a representative Harness and Saddlery Adjustment Commission of four members, representing employers, employees and the public was established by an agreement between the United States Union organizations and employers in the leather goods industry, on September 26, 1917. Decisions of the Commission were to be binding on all government contractors and their employees, and no strikes and lockouts were to take place during the war period. Non-unionists were to receive the union scale of wages.²

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- 1 Handbook of Information, Army Ordinance of Industrial Service
November 1918 Appendix Number 3.
2 American Year Book 1917 page 422

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Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board.

As the shipbuilding industry was so important during the war, it was necessary to settle immediately all labor disputes arising in this industry. For this reason, the Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board was created by an agreement entered into on August 29, 1917, and December 8, 1917, by the Navy Department, the Emergency Fleet Corporation, and certain labor leaders. The board consisted of a chairman appointed by the President of the United States, a labor representative named by the American Federation of Labor, and a third member chosen by the Emergency Fleet Corporation.¹

The construction plants coming under the jurisdiction of the Board were geographically distributed. In each district all disputes with reference to wages, hours, or conditions of labor were reported by the district officer of the Emergency Fleet Corporation to the Board and to the district examiner.²

The decisions of this Board were made retroactive, and at any time after six months had elapsed following ratification of the agreement or final decision by the Board the question could be re-opened by it for readjustment, upon request of the majority of the craft or crafts concerned, provided it could be demonstrated that there had been a general and material increase in the cost of living. The Board's decisions were binding on all parties within these prescribed limits, although either party possessed the right of appeal to a Board of Review and Appeal consisting of 3 members named jointly by the United States Shipping Board, Emergency Fleet Corporation and the United States Navy Department, and 3 named by the President

1. American Year Book 1917 page 422.

2. Memorandum for the Adjustment of Wages, Hours and Conditions of labor in the Shipbuilding Plants, U.S. Shipping Board, page 2.

of the American Federation of Labor.¹

The Board was able to establish a uniform national scale of wages for all skilled trades and the adjustment of wage standards to meet the increase in the cost of living ; and it secured the payment of transportation expenses of employees incurred in going to and from their work in the shipyards.² It also established the organization of shop committees for the adjustment of grievances between management and labor, especially where no joint agreement between shipyard owners and labor organizations had been effected. The employee of each craft or calling in a shop or yard selected three of their number to represent them as members of a shop committee. Each member served for a term of six months, and was selected by the majority vote through secret ballot in such a manner as the workmen directed. When a grievance arose it was taken up by the craft or laborer's committee with the foreman or the general foreman. Failing of adjustment, the craft or laborer's committee took the matter up with the superintendant or higher officials. In case the dispute concerned more than one craft, the matter was negotiated through the joint shop committee, first with the superintendant and then failing a settlement with higher officials of the company. In these conferences the joint committee of the craft had the right to call in a special representative to assist it. Whenever the conference failed to effect a settlement of the grievance, the matter was submitted to the district examiner.³

1 Memorandum for the Adjustment of Wages, Hours and Conditions of Labor in Shipbuilding Plants, U.S. Shipping Board. Page 3

2 Decision as to Wages, Hours and Conditions in Atlantic, Gulf, and Great Lake Shipyard, by Shipbuilding Adjustment Board Oct 1, 1918
Page 1-3

3 Ibid pages 7, 8

The first of these is the question of the origin of the human race. It is generally admitted that the human race is descended from a common ancestor, but the question of the origin of this ancestor is still a matter of dispute. Some authorities believe that the human race is descended from a single pair of individuals, while others believe that it is descended from a number of different pairs. The question of the origin of the human race is a very important one, and it is one which has attracted the attention of many of the most distinguished scientists of the present day.

The second of these questions is the question of the development of the human race. It is generally admitted that the human race has developed from a lower state of civilization to a higher state, but the question of the nature of this development is still a matter of dispute. Some authorities believe that the human race has developed from a lower state of civilization to a higher state, while others believe that it has developed from a higher state of civilization to a lower state. The question of the development of the human race is a very important one, and it is one which has attracted the attention of many of the most distinguished scientists of the present day.

The third of these questions is the question of the future of the human race. It is generally admitted that the human race will continue to develop, but the question of the nature of this development is still a matter of dispute. Some authorities believe that the human race will continue to develop from a lower state of civilization to a higher state, while others believe that it will continue to develop from a higher state of civilization to a lower state. The question of the future of the human race is a very important one, and it is one which has attracted the attention of many of the most distinguished scientists of the present day.

Adjustment of Labor Disputes in Loading and Unloading Ships

If our efforts had broken down here, all of the governments' work during the war, would have amounted to little. ^{So} A National Adjustment Commission was created by the United States Shipping Board in the latter part of August 1917, to deal with labor disputes arising in the loading and unloading of ships. The National Commission was to appoint a local representative commission in each important port and was to act only on appeals from local decisions. All decisions of the National Commission were to be binding, work was to continue without interruption pending a decision, and the union scales of hours, wages and working conditions were to be accepted as basic standards in each port.¹ The longshoremen's strike in New York was among the disputes settled by this method.

Railway Board of Adjustment

To settle all disputes that might arise on the railroads, the United States Railroad Administration formulated a definite policy and provided machinery of adjustments. Boards of Adjustments were organized by agreement between representatives of the Railroad Administration and the "Big Four Brotherhood." This Railroad Board of Adjustment Number 1 consisted of eight members-four selected by the regional directors of the lines and compensated by the railroads, and one each by the chief executive officer of the Railroad Brotherhoods and compensated by them. The Railroad Board of Adjustment Number 2 consisted of twelve members-six selected by the regional directors and paid by the roads, and one each by the chief executive of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Amalgamated,

¹ American Year Book 1917 page 422

Sheet Metal Worker's International Alliance, Brotherhood of Railway Car-men of America, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers of America and the International Association of Machinists.¹ Before these Adjustment Boards were created, the Railway Wage Commission existed but this has already been discussed.²

United States Board of Mediation and Conciliation

When the government assumed control of the railroads on December 28, 1917, it took over less than 200 of the 2,700 railroads on the country.³ The controversies that arose on the railroads not under government control were, therefore, taken care of by the United States Board of Mediation and Conciliation, created under Chapter 6 of the Acts of the Sixty-third Congress, the first session to have jurisdiction over labor disputes in connection with the railroads.⁴ During the period of the war this Board was more active than it had been since its inception, and it accomplished greater results.

President's Mediation Commission

The problem of industrial unrest became so acute in the western states during the summer of 1917 that Samuel Gompers in a conference with President Wilson urged government interference and action. As a result of this, September 1917, President Wilson appointed a commission to go to the Pacific Coast to investigate and compose wide spread labor disputes. The method of approaching

1 Watkins, Gordon: Op Cit page 175

2 See page 39

3 Handbook of Information, Army Ordnance Industrial Service Section November 1913; page 12

4 Watkins, Gordon: Op cit page 130

the problem as to consist of personnel conferences with employers, employees and state officials. In its investigation the Commission discovered that the causes of the widespread labor unrest consisted in (1) The absence of safe channels against strikes, such as boards of investigation, conciliation and arbitration. (2) Distant ownership of industries. (3) The desire of workmen to bargain collectively. (4) The demand by the workmen of the basic eight-hour day which was opposed by the employers. (5) A general demand for higher wages commensurated with the rise in the cost of living. (6) Autocratic control of industry which prevents labor from having a voice in the determination of working conditions. (7) The polyglot character of the working class and unification and co-operation among them very difficult.¹

The remedies suggested were collective bargaining, machinery for settling disputes, the elimination of profiteering, the basic eight-hour day, unified national war-labor administration, removal of all restriction on output and more education of labor in war aims and government methods.²

1 Watkins, Gordon: On Cit page 135
 2 American Year Book 1918 page 459

CHAPTER II COORDINATION IN LABOR ADMINISTRATION.

After a year of labor unrest during our first year in the war, our government saw that a decentralized policy would never win the war. Mr. Felix Frankfurter, chairman of the War Labor Policies Board summed up the situation in the following words:

"Since the outbreak of the war, the United States government has come to be the greatest employer of labor in the country. But it has had no co-operating policy with regard to the plants as a whole. Each one has operated individually as a separate enterprise, quite apart from others, and so far as the labor supply has been concerned, in active competition with the others."¹

But during the following year, there was established a multiplication of Federal agencies to deal with labor matters and also some noteworthy efforts to co-ordinate them and develop a complete war-labor administration. As a result^{of} a series of conferences, the Council of National Defense early in January submitted a programme of war-labor administration to President Wilson. This plan was approved by the President and the Secretary of Labor was instructed to undertake the Administration. The plan undertook to provide

1 U.S. Monthly Review July 1918 page 95-98

for insuring a supply of labor, for adjusting labor disputes without stoppage of work, for safe guarding the labor and living conditions of war workers, for a fact-gathering body; and for an agency for information and educational purposes. It was intended that existing bureaus in the Department of Labor should be utilized whenever possible.¹

The Secretary of Labor immediately appointed an advisory council made up of representatives of labor and capital, to work out the details of such a programme. The report of the advisory council was approved by the Secretary on January 28, 1918. This program provided recognition and extension of the existing organizations within the Department of Labor and for additional services and means of the government in matters relating to labor conditions. In addition to the Division of Conciliation, the United States Employment Service, and the investigating bureaus of the Department of Labor, six supplementary agencies were created: (1) A conditions of Labor Service to administer working conditions in the industrial establishments, including safety and sanitation. (2) An Informational and Educational Service to promote sound public sentiment and provide appropriate local machinery and policies in the industrial plants. (3) A Women in Industry Service to correlate the activities of various agencies. (4) A Training and Dilution Service to provide a supply of skilled workers. (5) A Housing and Transportation Service.

1 American Year Book 1918 page 151

(c) 1. Personnel Service.¹ The creation of these new agencies did not do away with the several industrial service sections of the Bureau of Commerce, the Shipping Board, the Quartermaster Department, and other successful departmental bodies. The object was rather to supplement and especially to correlate and centralize the endeavors of these numerous services, and to make the Department of Labor a sort of clearing house for them.²

War Labor Conference Board.

At the time of his approval of the program submitted by the Advisory Council (January 28, 1918), the Secretary of Labor requested the managing director of the National Industrial Conference Board, a federation of employers, and the president of the American Federation of Labor, to constitute a war labor conference board for the purpose of formulating and concluding agreements upon definite principles and policies for the government, and of the relation between capital and labor. It was an attempt to bring employers and employees to a fuller appreciation of their mutual interests and to impress upon the minds of each group that prejudice and bitterness must give way to harmony of action and co-operative endeavor in the common task of maximum production, without which the War would inevitably be lost.³

On March 29, 1918, the War Labor Conference Board submitted an unanimous report of its decisions to the Secretary of Labor. This

1 U.S. Monthly Review, February 1918 page 79

2 Watkins, Gordon: Op Cit page 196

3 U.S. Monthly Review, April 1918 page 103

report provided for the creation of a National War Labor Board consisting of an equal number of members and selected in the same manner and by the ^{same} interests as had chosen the Conference Board itself. The new board was in general to consider all controversies arising between employers and employees with a view to guaranteeing uninterrupted operation of industry and maximum production of war materials. It was to be a supreme court of labor appeals for industrial disputes.¹

National War Labor Board

This new Board was appointed by the Secretary of Labor, and was comprised of representatives of employers, employees and the public. The personnel of the Board was the same as that of the War Labor Conference Board, with the addition of two representatives of the public, selected by the employers and employees representatives respectively. The appointment of the Board was approved and affirmed by President Wilson in his proclamation of April 8, 1918.² In this proclamation he set forth their duties. A summary of them is as follows: (1) The settlement by mediation and conciliation of every controversy arising between capital and labor in the field of production essential to the conduct of the war; (2) The exercise of the same jurisdiction in all fields of national activity, where stoppage or threatened cessation of production would be determined. (3) The provision, by direct appointment or otherwise, for committees or boards to set throughout the

1 Stoddard, William L: No Strikes in War Times; Independent 94: June 1, 1918 page 387

2 Proclamation of the President of the United States April 8, 1918

country where disputes arise, so that settlement may be effective where and whenever possible by local mediation and conciliation.

In case of failure of these boards to effect a settlement the parties were to be summoned by the National Board. (4) In case the National Board should fail to settle the disputes, as a last resort an umpire could be appointed. On July 12, 1918, the President announced the names of persons¹ to act as umpires. (5) The Board was invested with power to alter its methods and practices in settling disputes as experience suggested. (6) The regular meetings of the Board were to be held at Washington, but it could convene at any other convenient or necessary place. (7) No cognizance was to be taken by the Board of disputes between employers and employees in any field of industrial activity where by federal law or by agreement there already existed means of settlement which have not been invoked.²

In compliance with the principles of settlement of industrial disputes set forth in the President's proclamation of April 8, 1918, the National War Labor Board heard appeals in the following cases: (1) Where there had been violations of the principles of the President's proclamation relative to uninterrupted production; (2) Where ~~the~~ employers failed to put into effect or employees refused to accept or abide by an award of the board of settlement; (3) Where it became necessary to determine questions of jurisdiction as between government boards. The National War Labor Board was not empowered to hear appeals from the decision of ^{or} regularly constituted boards of appeal,

1 Official Bulletin July 15, 1918 page 1

2 U.S. Monthly Review May 1918 pages 55,56

any
nor from/other board to revise findings of the facts.¹

The success of the Board was remarkable; Upto October 31, 1918, in only four cases was the Board unable to reach an unanimous agreement upon awards and decisions, and in three occasions only during the war period were its awards not willingly accepted and applied.² The most important resistance was in the case of the Western Union Telegraph Company and a group of its employees who had joined the Commercial Telegrapher's Union. The result of the controversy was that Congress granted the President/\$ of the United States the authority to take over the telegraph and telephone lines, and these utilities were placed under government control under the Postmaster General who immediately stopped all discriminatory practices against union employees.³

To October 1, 1918, the offices of the Board\$ considered 531 controversies, of which 266 were still pending. Awards had been made in 44 cases; 136 cases had been referred to other governmental agencies; 2 were withdrawn; 30 were settled without intervention of the Board, jurisdiction was denied in 8 cases, and 32 were dropped or suspended.⁴ By November 11, 1918, when the Armistice was signed, 83 awards had been made, and by the middle of February 1919, the number of findings announced totalled 198, involving 34 industries scattered over 35 states. The number of cases, that had entered on the docket up to April 15, 1919, aggregated 1,244, only 33 of

1 U.S. Monthly Review June 1918 page 56

2 Sixth Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor, 1918 pages 104, 105

3 Watkins, Gordon: Op Cit page 208

4 Sixth Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor 1918 page 105

which had been disposed of in some way. Of this number of cases, awards were issued in 394 cases; agreements or dismissals were reached in 428 cases; 389 were referred to subsidiary agents having original jurisdiction.¹

War Labor Policies Board

In order to unify the activities of the numerous boards and agents that existed in the production department of the government in the determining of wages and working conditions, in the supervision of housing and other functions, on May 13, 1918, the Department of Labor announced the creation of the War Labor Policies Board with Professor Felix Frankfurter, as chairman. The Board represented the Department of Labor, the National War Labor Board, the Department of Agriculture, the Shipping Board, the Railroad Administration, the Food Administration, the War Department, the Navy Department, the Emergency Fleet Corporation, the Committee on Public Information, and the American Federation of Labor.

The primary duty of the Board was the consideration for the war of all questions pertaining to wages, hours, the supply and proper distribution of labor, and the standardization of working conditions.² When the Policies Board reached final decisions in cases arising in industrial relations in war industries, the execution of these decisions was left directly in charge of each Department represented on the Board, in so far as the particular

1 Watkins, Gordon: Op Cit page 213 Quoted from the Survey Volume IIII Number 5 (May 3, 1919) page 192

2 U.S. Monthly Review, July 1918 page 24

decisions affected that particular department. The duties of the National War Labor Board were fundamentally judicial in character while the War Labor Policies Board devoted itself to administrative work. It was created to determine and develop policies for a unified labor administration, and to co-ordinate into one consistent policy the differentiated and frequently inconsistent methods of important governmental departments dealing with the problems of labor that affected production, always excluding from its field of administration, agreements between employers and their workers.¹

United States Employment Service

The United States Employment Service was created as a distinct department on January 3, 1918 in order to meet the acute situation in regard to the dislocation of the labor supply of the country. On the eve of the inauguration of the first step of the government's centralized war labor policy, August 1, 1918, this Employment Service had more than 500 branch offices for the distribution of labor, and 20,000 agents for the work of labor recruiting. It was placing at that time more than 10,000 workers a day in war industries, some of the branches placing more workers than the entire service seven months previous. A system of clearances was established between districts, states and communities in which employers and employees, through the medium of state advisory and community labor boards and state organization committees, were given a share with other officials in the administration of the program instituted by the Employment Service.²

1 Watkins, Gordon: Op Cit page 219

2 Ibid page 220

This Employment Service^{is} under the control and supervision of the Department of Labor. State, county and municipal employment offices throughout the nation are co-ordinated under the Federal Employment Service. It is a system of confederation with the new Federal Service. The foundation for the success of the new employment program of the government had been laid on April 30, 1918, when the United States was divided into 13 employment districts, each district in charge of a district employment superintendent. Each district superintendent's office received reports from all public employment within the district, kept in close touch with the employment conditions, supervised the work of the State Directors of employment in the states comprising the districts, and managed the fiscal operations of the Service. Clearances between districts were provided through the main office at Washington.¹

The Service fulfilled its function of bringing the jobless man to the manless job. On March 29, 1919, the United States Department of Labor announced that more than 4,000,000 persons had been placed in employment through the offices of the Employment Service since its reorganization in January 1918. Approximately 3,00,000 of these were men and women found for war industries up to the signing of the armistice; the other million consisted of soldiers, sailors and civilian employees placed in peace time jobs.² The splendid work has been halted temporarily because the Sixty-fifth Congress failed to appropriate funds for its operations.

1 U.S. Monthly Review August 1918 page 64

2 Watkins, Gordon: Op Cit page 202

Quoted from the Chicago Tribune March 30, 1919

Women in Industry Service

To deal with the women aspect of employment during the war, the Woman in Industry Service of the Department of Labor was organized early in July 1918, with Miss Mary Van Kleick as director;, and Miss Mary Anderson as assistant director. This Service was to form general policies concerning women in industry and to help them in securing better working conditions. It kept in view the health and welfare of women workers. Its function was to advise the Secretary of Labor on all matters affecting the employment of women and to co-operate with all those agencies concerned with the production of war materials in so far as their problems involved the employment of women.¹

Bureau Of Industrial Housing and Transportation

This Bureau was created February 1918, as a part of the Department of Labor to help solve the important housing problem. By the end of October 1918, allotments for house construction had been previously made for 76 cities in need of additional facilities to shelter war workers on army and navy contracts; 26 developments were under construction, involving expenditures of \$37,306,778.88, estimated to house 9,000 families aggregating 45,000 individuals. On November 11, the day the armistice was signed, the United States Housing Corporation had under consideration 94 housing enterprises and projects. With the cessation of hostilities 54 projects were abandoned and 15 were curtailed while 25 were proceeded with as planned. It was estimated that it would require \$45,000,000 to

1 Kleick, Mary: Federal Policies for Women in Industry; Annual of American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. LXXII No. 170 (January 1919) page 87-94

2 Sixth Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor 1918 page 131

complete the 25 projects which were under way.¹

Labor Adjustment Service

To the Division of Conciliation and Labor Adjustment Service was entrusted the important task of mediation and jurisdiction over settlement of strikes, lockouts and other labor problems. There was already in existence a large force of conciliators, and the National War Labor Board constituted a court of last appeal. Nearly two and a half millions of wage earners, or about three times as many as during the proceeding year, came within the peace-making activities of the Conciliation Division during the fiscal year, 1918.²

Information and Education Service

The Information and Education Service was organized July 1, 1918, under an act providing appropriations for sundry civil service expenses for the fiscal year 1918, and for other purposes as approved July 1, 1918. The purpose of the act was to enable the Secretary of Labor to acquire and diffuse information on the subjects connected with labor. The appropriation for the work amounted to \$225,000. The following divisions were enacted under the Service: Educational, Information, Industrial Plants, Economics and Posters.³

Training and Dilution Service

To devise and execute a program for providing a supply of skilled workers, this Service of the Department of Labor was created. \$150,000 was appropriated for this work. Mr. Charles T. Clayton

1
1 Watkins, Gordon: Cp Cit page 234 Quoted U.S. Monthly Review February 1919 page 248

2 Sixth Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor 1918 page 30

3 Watkins, Gordon: Cp Cit page 233 235

was appointed director of this Service. The Training and Dilution Service as instituted on July 16, 1918 consisted of the following divisions: (1) Planning Division, having charge of all studies with regard to ways and means of training and dilution and conducting these studies through the Training, Research and Information Sections/ (2) Administrative Division, comprising the Personnel and Accounts, the Statistics and Reports, the Correspondence and Files Sections, and fulfilling the functions indicated by the names of these agencies;. (3) Training Division, including a field service with a chief, and superintendent in each of the 12 districts throughout the United States whose duty it was to stimulate the production of war materials by organizing vestibule training departments in industrial plants and to encourage industrial training in public schools in connection with the plans provided by the Federal Board for Vocational Education. (4) Dilution Division, whose functions included the study of the needs of industrial plants for competent, skilled workers and the ascertaining of the available supply by the aid of the United States Employment Service.¹

The outstanding feature of this co-operated war labor administration was that the Boards were created without the authority of the statute. It resulted in giving them a great deal of elasticity in effecting readjustments. This program resulted in centralization of control with decentralization of administration by agencies in intimate touch with the labor problems that arose in the industry; it eliminated duplication of effort and conflict of authority; flex-

1 Sixth Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor 1918 pages 124, 127

ibility of organization that allowed prompt readjustment to the exigencies that arose; protection of existing labor safe guards; the formulation, adoption, and enforcement of the fundamental regulatory measures designed to promote the welfare of labor and maintain industrial efficiency; mitigation of the evils accruing from industrial unrest by the elimination of the causes of such unrest, and the promotion of a better understanding between management, labor and government.

PART III

CONCLUSION

The war did much to make the people of America realize that there are many fundamental labor conditions present that were bound to produce unrest. The people, realized as never before, that there must be conciliation and mediation between capital and labor. Employers and employees learned that they were both men actuated with the same instincts and motives. Each saw the good in the other and they were ready and generous in response to the proper appeals. The war also showed the magnitude of the community's interests in the industrial system making people realize that there must be personal relations between the consumers and the producers.

The government saw that only a centralized authority and co-ordination of administrative agencies would produce industrial rest. The War Labor Policies and the National War Labor Board showed the Nation how much could be accomplished through administrative and judicial boards.

Our government, if it wants to solve the labor unrest or the problems of industrial relations, must continue the centralized and co-ordinated labor administration; it must adopt uniform principles and standards to guide the administrative agencies in regulating the conditions of employment; it must introduce a democratic government in industry with a special plan of representation in industry adopted to the given establishment; it must provide a plan to give to labor

a share in the excessive earnings of industry; it must establish free play for the creative impulse and it must generate a new spirit between management and labor, a spirit of co-operation, democracy and good-will.

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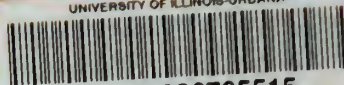
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